

Handwritten initials

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C42) (12-15) DATE: 1/27/58
FROM: SA [redacted] #19
SUBJECT: NEW YORK COUNTY CP
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Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past. (conceal)

Description of Info NY County CP Committee Meeting, 1/2/58
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Date Received 1/3/58

Received By SA [redacted] (written)

Original Located [redacted]

- 1 [redacted] (CIFU) (19)
- 1-NY (100-60640) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-228) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-86066) [redacted] (19)
- 1-NY (100-54555) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-66715) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-132332) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-84993) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-9369) (TED EASSETT) (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-68063) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-91454) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-79025) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-88013) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (105-9328) [redacted] LNU from Greek Section) (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-55621) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-67234) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-91911) (JESSE GRAY) (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-82206) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C42)

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DR:ume
(44)

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Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

A copy of informant's report follows:

COPIES CONTINUED

- 1-NY (100-95583) (CP, USA, LINE) (19-1)
- 1-NY (100-128821) (CP, DISTRICT #2, FACTIONALISM) (19-2)
- 1-NY (100-80641) (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION) (19-1)
- 1-NY (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.) (7-2)
- 1-NY (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19-1)
- 1-NY (100-128814) (CP, DISTRICT #2, ORGANIZATION) (19-2)
- 1-NY (100-128314) (CP, DISTRICT #2, FUNDS) (19-2)
- 1-NY (100-128314-A) (CP, NY COUNTY FUNDS) (19-2)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C43) (KINGS COUNTY CP) (12-11)
- 1-NY (100-132430) (INDUSTRIAL DIVISION OF CP) (12)
- 1-NY (100-80532) (HERB APTHEKER) (12-11)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1894) (UPPER EAST SIDE SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C612) (PROFESSIONAL SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1214) (HARLEM SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1879) (VILLAGE SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1170) (INWOOD SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1219) (WASHINGTON HEIGHTS SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1920) (WEST SIDE SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C1817) (CHELSEA SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C166) (LOWER EAST SIDE SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (12-14)
- 1-NY (100-128813) (CP, DISTRICT #2, PAMPHLETS AND PUBLISHERS) (19-2)
- 1-NY (100-101849) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1-NY (100-128817) (CP, DISTRICT #2, MEMBERSHIP) (19-2)
- 1-NY (100-128822) (CP, DISTRICT #2, EDUCATION) (19-2)

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NY County Committee, CP
"Morningstar Lodge"
Central Plaza Annex, NYC
(Rm. BB)
Thursday, 1/2/58,
8:30-11:20 p.m.

Present:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] (Professional)
[redacted]
Ted Bassett
[redacted]

Paul Robeson, Jr.
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] (Greek Section)
[redacted]
Jesse Gray
[redacted]

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I - Report on internal conditions in the Party - Evie:

This issue of P.A. points the way we should go. Jim Allen's article points out that the leading fighter for peace is the Soviet Union, and we must promote Soviet-American friendship. It is our specific responsibility to point these things out to the American people. Jackson's article on the South indicates the unsatisfactory Negro-labor alliance. We need to build the Party in the South, particularly among Negroes. All the issues, such as housing, schools, etc., must be related to the central question of the fight for peace. We must show the Communist position on all questions. We must recognize that differences exist on every one of the main issues. We can't have a proper approach to peace if we underestimate the role of imperialism, or if you must first (as in today's DW, for example) take a critical approach to the Soviet Union. You may be in the mainstream, but not as a Communist. We should explain, for instance, why a socialist state can produce a Sputnik. We cannot base ourselves on Strachey's "People's Capitalism". Nor can we see the trade unions as the leaders of the American working class. We must point out their wrong concepts on foreign policy and class collaboration.

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These are concrete expressions of revisionism in our party today. There is a need for a two-front struggle, so we must also see the danger of sectarianism. Evidences of the latter are: running way ahead of the workers; seeing only our differences with the trade unions; refusing to see anything new in the world situation. But revisionism is the most dangerous because it sees no road for our Party, no reason for our Party to exist. So, in order to fight for the life of our Party, we must see how revisionism is standing in the way. Before the convention, they advocated association as against Party. Now it is different: an attempt is being made to water down the Party, so it would be in effect an association anyway. These are the questions which must be resolved in order for the Party to be rebuilt and give proper leadership to the American working class.

At the last NEC meeting (this, of course, is only a brief account, and we will go into it in more detail sometime later), the NAC letter was voted down by 7-11. Another was substituted, but which had many weaknesses, particularly that it made a separation from the world Communist movement---American exceptionalism. This was a serious blow to our Party.

The NAC was also censured for the document to get out on the 12-Party document (quoted from the DW, 12/31/57--- "serious breach of Party democracy". A leadership cannot function if it has to wait three months to take action. There has been no public statement of Communist interpretation of this document to the American people. The NEC voted not to make available to the members at this point the reports of Comrades Dennis and Stein. This was a wrong action, because the NC is meeting in February, and the whole membership should be acquainted with what the differences in the Party are, to help influence and give our opinions to the NC. They cannot evaluate the internal situation without us. The most serious attack against the Party in the last week was the statement that Johnny Gates gave to the capitalist press in relation to the DW.

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The decision to give up the paper was made by the NEC because the Party, which has not had a successful fund drive for several years, has poured money into the paper, and funds have not been forthcoming because of the difficulties of the internal situation. The Party would become bankrupt in a short time because of the tremendous cost. It was decided to save the Sunday paper. Once a correct program is worked out by our Party, we will again be able to get our Daily Worker back. The vote was 18-1 (Johnny Gates); one abstention (George Blake). The decision was not made public, because the NC is the only body that needed a final say. It was agreed to poll all the NC members. In spite of this, Johnny made a statement to the Times, announcing his opposition to the decision of the NC, stating that he would fight the decision. This shows complete loss of sense of responsibility to the Party and to the DW and the principles for which it stands. It shows that he believes that the DW and the Party are completely separate organs. Several times he threatened to resign, when the vote went against him---on the removal of Joe Clark, and on the reinstatement in the Party of Abe Unger. And now, he has to go to the capitalist press. The truth is that those who have had the most serious disagreements with the DW have brought in the most money and subscriptions.

We must discuss with our members the facts of what is the situation---should call enlarged section meetings. Our next meeting should be an enlarged one, too. On January 10-11, the State Committee has called an emergency meeting to discuss the situation. In February, there will be a NC meeting. Our job is going to be difficult, but we will rise to it as Communists and move through this new attack against

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the Party and again save and strenghten our Party. Ideological differences stand in the way of rebuilding the Party. We must not destroy what we have begun, the rebuilding of our sections and beginning to development mass work and classes, and registration.

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[redacted] 5 minute limit to speakers.)

[redacted]: I would like an explanation of the denial by 7 members of the staff of the paper on the statement. Also, an explanation on the rumors that large sums were withheld from support of the Worker. [redacted] said there was no denial by Gates and the others, merely a justification. On the funds, our County was left by its predecessors without any money at all. There was never any question of the Brooklyn Committee refusing to give money to the DW. It was asked for a larger sum than any other county, and requested that all funds be investigated to see if they were the only county that could give that much. An investigating committee was appointed, with [redacted] [redacted]. Immediately, Brooklyn started to comply with the request. Those who raised the question and helped spread rumors did a great disservice to the Party. It is impossible to give certain reports, But [redacted] is now ready with a report, and we will invite him to a future meeting of the County Committee to report fully. The statement in relation to the Brooklyn Committee also was made at the last State Committee. Despite being left penniless, we have contributed \$3,000 to the DW; Brooklyn, \$8,000, and Industrial the largest amount.)

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Lil: I want to underscore [redacted]'s remarks on the reports being withheld, due to the turmoil and gossip that is going about. Not making the reports public only adds to the

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confusion. There must obviously be a leak at the top level of the Party. A year ago I was opposed to expelling certain people from the Party. I have changed my mind. Why hasn't Johnny Gates been expelled? He should be removed from the DW. I notice also that several people who should be here aren't, and I begin to question the role of the left, too. I am discouraged, and if the split persists, I am going to leave, too---as I told [redacted]. That is my personal reaction. Among the members in my section, there is apathy. Everybody wants to work in a mass organization, but there is no enthusiasm in a Party organizational way.

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[redacted]: I welcome the report of [redacted]. It is long overdue. We wouldn't tolerate Johnny Gates if he were in Harlem. Even a broad mainstream church in Harlem wouldn't tolerate him, from the point of view of internal security. They are trying to become acceptable to the American bourgeoisie. There is a drive to do a complete job on the Party. We must understand this. Johnny Gates wants our Party to become anti-working-class, because anti-Soviet. This is to fall into the trap of the bourgeoisie. When before did we fear what the bourgeois press was going to say? If we finance the paper, it must be the way we want it. I don't want just to remove him from the paper. I think we should bring him up on charges--- but we can't, because he isn't in a club where the rank and file can work on him. Every leading Communist should get into a club as fast as possible. It is impossible to read the DW because of the ideological corruption. [redacted] laid the path and Johnny Gates walked on it. Our recommendations should be very sharp. If we tolerate him much longer, we won't even have the Sunday Worker. They found unity in the NC around the destruction of the paper rather than around getting rid of Johnny Gates.

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[] After the Convention, we said we would be going through a transition period. This is part of it. Aptheker said at a forum in our section that the bourgeoisie has never really killed the Party, but it is possible for the Party to commit suicide. Everyone here agrees that the leadership is inadequate. Eventually it will change. Our responsibility is primarily to the rank and file and to the communities in which we work. I want to preserve an organization, not just some jobs at the top. I cannot see in anything but the reports on the South and the trade unions (and they are not implemented) indicating activity, motion. We were told that [] and [] were appointed to pull the DW into shape. Then suddenly they disappeared and Steve Nelson appeared on the front page. There has been no statement about this.

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I agree in general with []'s estimate. But why didn't the NEC wait a few days and poll the NAC. The danger of revisionism must be made clear to the rank and file, but it is only in certain trends and areas, and not characteristic of our members below.

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[] Only John Foster Dulles irritates me more than what is going on in the Party. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I see no reason to support the paper, unless it is an organ of the CP, whatever the the legalism, at least ideologically. There is a great of opportunism on the part of the leadership of the Party, on both sides, in trying to survive with wreckers in the midst. We must establish whether or not there is a connection between the paper and the Party. If there isn't, I don't want any part of it.

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[redacted]: Endless debate, without activity, is suicide. The Upper East Side has been fighting for the paper, in order to have some kind of say in its policies. We had a very bitter fight. Our people wanted no money to go to the paper, only to the Party. I am making a statement here, unless I'm out of order (and I said it to Ben Davis at the Freedom Party on New Year's Eve) that we are raising money at Charley Dirba's party only for the Party---not the paper.

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Paul Robeson, Jr.: The main thing is that we have never settled the question of what the role of the paper should be. It must be an organ of the Party, to project the mass line of the Party, and subject to the will of the Party through its NC. This concept has not been accepted by the leadership of the paper. The Board wants a specific resolution from the County Committee: defining what we think of the action of Gates; defining the relation between Party and press; advocating definite action by the NC on this question. I offer such a resolution: Condemning the flagrant attempt by a minority of one to override the action of the NEC; condemning the use of the capitalist press; calling upon the NC to remove Gates from the editorship of the Worker and Daily Worker and all positions of Party leadership.

[redacted]: In agreement with [redacted]'s report and Paul's resolution.

[redacted] Agree with the report, We must stress the danger of revisionism,

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[redacted]: The rank and file won't be too upset by this final drawing of the lie. The main danger is not Johnny Gates, but revisionism. We must get rid of them and move ahead on our program. The fight is to take the paper away from Johnny Gates, so that he can't use it against us.

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[] We have to go into a discussion of this kind, because revisionism is hindering us from carrying out the task that we have today. So we must get rid of it. I don't know what is going on any more than you do. I learned only from the New York Times. I get minutes of meetings, but no contents. We will get rid of Johnny Gates before he get_ rid of us.

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[]: I wish we had seen Comrades Dennis' and []'s reports. I would have had a deeper insight into the situation. We have to learn to change with the changing times. There is too much impatience, with one another and with other points of view. We are not yet in a position to make final decisions. I am willing to wait for the showdown that has been promised at the next NC meeting. I don't approve of rapid decisions and expulsions. This will not strengthen the Party.

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[]: [] dn I went through much together---we were rank and filers in the 1929 period. We are not making a rapid decision. We are only going to give expression to our opinions here. We must save the people, so we can have a Party. I went to the State and National Committees for an advance of funds to save a Jewish magazine. [] with tears in his eyes, said there was no money, because the DW was eating up all the money, and they could not even send an organizer into the South, as was voted. We went out and raised money from other ways. [] said they hadn't been paid for weeks. Without a Party, there can be no paper.

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Ted Bassett: A number of "center" comrades voted with the right. We want the NC to take a correct position on this and reject revisionism.

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[] Why don't we have a program that will attract people? What is going on today is really a resolution of the unclarity that has existed.

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Vote: 16-0; 1 abstention ([]). [] asked permission to vote, since she wanted to be on record. Her voted was included in the total count.

[]: Other resolutions:

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NY County Committee regrets the necessity of suspending the DW and calls upon the NC to do everything possible to maintain and build the Sunday Worker and restore the DW at the earliest possible date, and pledges its full support.

Carried, 17-0.

Request the substance of the meeting of the NEC on December 20-22, including the reports of [] and Dennis, be made available to the members.

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Carried 17-0.

Resolved that the NAC was within its right to place the question of the 12-Party document before the Party membership. Urge that NAC statement, with the NY State and County Committees' amendments, be adopted.

Carried 14-0; 3 abstentions
[] (Lil)

[]: [] of Harlem, has attended only one State meeting since her election. Proposed that an alternate to the State Committee be elected, to take her place until her plans can be made know. Propose [] []. (Elected by acclamation.) It is essential that we be represented at the State meeting on January 10.

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[] On Registration: Propose we continue the fight for registration and mass work, despite the discussions. Propose goals to shoot for by 1/9/58:

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Harlem	30	(additional to the last figure)
Inwood	5	
Washington Hts.	10	
West Side	15	
Chelsea	10	
Village	19	
Lower E. S.	14	
Upper E. S.	14	
Martha's group	20	

The station will be on Thursday, as usual, same place. The above figures will bring us to about 65% of our goal. We planned on 100% by 2/1/58, but it may have to be extended for a few weeks.

Announcements: [] Party Voice is going to be revived.

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Our County is leading the State in registration. Harlem is still in the lead in the County. We are determined to keep up the caucuses, but there has been very bad attendance, and the next Jewish caucus has been canceled because we have not yet been able to find just the right people.

Our next meeting will be on Thursday, January 16, 1958, at 8:30 sharp. Morningstar Lodge---Central Plaza Annex. It is to be an enlarged meeting, and actives of the section are to be invited. Will continue discussion and hear a report on the State Committee meeting.

[] said the first Sunday evening forum of the new winter term will be held this Sunday, Jan. 5, at Adelphi Hall. The topic is the Labor Movement Today--- by []. He said there is also a labor policy statement being discussed by the Industrial Division.

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The next Ed. Director's meeting will take place on Friday, Jan. 17, probably at Adelphi.

1/2/58

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) (#12-10)

FROM : SA [redacted] (#7)

DATE: 2/4/58

SUBJECT : CP, USA
BRONX COUNTY
IS-C

Identity of Source: [redacted], who has
furnished reliable info
in past (Conceal).

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Description of Info: 1/3/58
Date Received: 1/17/58
Received by: SA [redacted] (#7)
Original Located: [redacted]

Utmost care must be used in handling and report-
ing the following information in order to protect the
identity of the informant.

- 1 - [redacted] (#7)
- 1 - NY 100-62881 ([redacted] member of Bronx Co.
Comm.; ht. 5'3", hair dark, complexion dark,
build medium, marks on face, wears heavy
gold wedding ring) (per [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-12481 ([redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-26603 (CP DISTRICT #2) (#19-2)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (#19)
- 1 - NY 97-169 ("DAILY WORKER") (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP FACTIONALISM) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C43 (CP BROOKLYN) (#12-12)
- 1 - NY 100-17925 (JOHN GATES) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-14859 ([redacted] (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-24638 (ABNER BERRY) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-13292 (LESTER RODNEY) (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-9352 ([redacted] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-13293 ([redacted] (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-21259 ([redacted] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP USA) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-106964 ([redacted] (#12-10)

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FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted]

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By report dated 1/13/58, [redacted] furnished information regarding the activities of the CP in Bronx County, NY.

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A copy of informant's report follows:

1 - NY 100- [redacted] LNU) (East Bronx, per [redacted]) 12-10
1 - NY 100-13447 ([redacted]) (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-133346 ([redacted]) (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-25821 (CHARLES HENDLEY) (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-103273 (ROSE WEINSTOCK) (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-84052 ([redacted] member of Bronx County
Committee, per [redacted]) (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-128796 ([redacted]) (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-19679 (I. WOFSY) (#19)
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (#12-8)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (#19)
1 - NY 100-50806 (GEORGE CHARNEY) (#19)
1 - NY 100-18673 ([redacted]) (#19-2)
1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (#19)
1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100-34632 (CP WATERFRONT) (#12-14)
1 - NY 100-107444 ([redacted]) (#12-10)

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only a question of finances. It is also an ideological question. "Back of the financial difficulties of the press is the factional strife in the party. The decline in party membership also resulted in the decline in circulation. It was decided to discontinue the D.W. to save the Worker." He said that to save the Worker \$20,000 must be raised by Jan. 11th. He stated that Brooklyn (C.P.) already turned in \$5,000 and Bronx turned in \$2,000. "Brooklyn and Bronx had to borrow this money which will have to be raised by the sections and the clubs of the party." He reported that John Gates will not be the editor of the Worker. He said that [redacted] Abner Berry and Lester Rodney will resign from the D.W.; [redacted] and "possible" [redacted] will stay on." of course there still might be different changes in The Worker's staff."

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(In a private talk after the meeting [redacted] told [redacted] "that the National Executive Committee (C.P.) made a decision to dismiss John Gates from the Worker but at the last minute it was decided to give him a chance to resign.")

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[redacted] stated that the immediate tasks of the party in N.Y. is the registration of all party members and to bring back into the party former party members and the raising of funds for the Worker.

"The main political task of our party," [redacted] said, "is the organization of the progressive movement and the building of the Party; the building of a united front with every organization which is ready to fight for peace. Our leading committees opinions are that the party's attitude towards the different Socialist groups in the country should be a friendly one."

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[redacted] said that "socialism can not be established, here or in any country, without political control. Our party is definite on this point: we must win political power. The party must organize political action on a wide, mass scale. For this we must have a communist party and not just some kind of a marxist

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organization. The C.P.'s main objective is the promotion of political action which will lead to the seizure of political power and to the establishment of socialism."

He called for a concentrated campaign to recruit back all former C.P. members. Discussions on [redacted] report:

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[redacted] (from northeast Bronx-Allerton Ave, section C.P.) stated that his section decided to take "concrete first steps in the class struggle": to issue leaflets in the neighborhood in the name of the C.P. on the struggle for peace and coexistence.

[redacted] (East Bronx) The clubs (C.P.) are constantly asking for leadership from the County or State Committee. There isn't any and the clubs just don't know what to do. If this will continue we wouldn't have any clubs. Something must be done about it if we want to have a C.P.

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[redacted] member B. County Committee, proposed to reorganize the C.P. clubs and sections on the basis of assembly districts. "The only way to win the people is to where the people are."

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[redacted] member B.C.C., stated that "theory is OK, but theory is academic. At this moment we must concentrate on registration and on The Worker's fund drive."

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[redacted] advocated "a strong educational drive in the clubs."

[redacted]: "many comrades refuse to register. We have comrades who work in mass organizations for the last 20 or more years and some of them are asking: 'What do we need the party for? We know what to do in our organizations.' The sections should go after these comrades."

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[] claimed that the Hungarian section is not "involved in these troubles. We work on our own, but as a party unit we don't know what is going on in the party. What are the leading party Committees doing? I am afraid that the leadership itself doesn't know what is going on in the party. It is about time the leadership should wake up."

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[] member B.C.C. attacked the National and State leadership for "not trusting the membership of the party." Until the very last we didn't know of the real plight of our paper. Suddenly we read in the N.Y. Times that the D.W. is being suspended." He stated that the people in the D.W. were those who believed that there shouldn't be a C.P. " and the members of the party decided not to support a half-and-half paper." He called upon the party to put an end to the revisionists within the party.

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[] member B.C.C., stated that the most important task today is the registration of the C.P. members- "we must know our forces." He claimed that the hardest to register are those who were most active in the party in previous years.

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[] said that he didn't think it was necessary to report in detail on the plight of the D.W. but because of []'s accusation of not trusting the membership "which is not true," he gave the following details about the D.W.:

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On the 3rd of January Wofsy came to Jack Statchel, whom the N.C. appointed to be in charge of the D.W. and told him that the D.W. and the Worker must be suspended; that there is no possibility to continue publishing the papers. Ben Davis, George Charney, [] and other members of the State Committee were cut of town or just couldn't be reached. Statchel got a hold on Bill Albertson and it was decided to call an emergency which took place on the 4th of January.

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Bill had to leave N.Y. and William Weinstone was in charge of a skeleton meeting. After a review of the situation the meeting came to the conclusion that the D.W. must be discontinued immediately and \$20,000 must be raised by January 11th if the Worker is to be saved.

William Weinstone reported on this decision to the N.E.C. on January 6th. The N.E.C. agreed with this decision.

At the meeting of Jan. 4th it was reported that 3/4 of the membership did not participate in the D.W. fund drive. The Waterfront section (C.P.) did not contribute one cent for the D.W. and resolved not to do so as long as John Gates is the editor.

[redacted] proposed that the County Committee should set up functional Committees such as education, press, registration, funds, and to issue a newsletter for circulation in the clubs in the Bronx. He volunteered to be the county press director and was immediately elected as such.

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Because of the late hour [redacted] told the meeting that the N.Y. State Committee is having an emergency meeting during the week-end of Jan. 11-12, 1958. The main points at this meeting will be discussions of the press, funds, registration. The building of the party and to overcome its isolation will be the big issue at this meeting. There will also be discussion on the opening session of Congress, the labor movement and the peace movement and the launching of the 1958 circulation drive (The Worker).

He said that the membership will be informed "as much as possible" on the proceeding of this State Committee meeting.

NY 100-26603-C40

Motions made and adopted:

County Committee should organize a program of action on peace and peaceful co-existence. To get out its own leaflets on the subject and organize peace action committees. To organize work-shops in which members who are engaged in mass work can meet and exchange views and experiences.

County Committee should consider the question of reorganization of of the party (C.P.) along assembly District lines.

The chairman announced that "a month from today" there will be held a county-wide membership meeting.

[REDACTED]

The term seizure of political power used in above report, according to [REDACTED] does not refer to use of force and violence. [REDACTED] stated the inference by [REDACTED] is that Socialism cannot be achieved without the use of political powers. Hence the CP must go into political action groups, organize Socialist groups and establish a united front for the purpose of gaining political power through mass organizations. When political power was achieved, then enter or form the Socialist states.

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2-19

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128813)

DATE: 2/11/58

FROM: SA DANIEL F. GARDE (#19)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS -
NEW YORK DISTRICT - NEW YORK DIVISION
IS-C

NY 2010-S* on 1/16/58, advised that on that date JACK STACHEL informed WILLIAM L. PATTERSON that on Friday, 1/17/58, the NYS (CP) would hold a special staff meeting with all the representatives of the counties to be present in order to map their own campaign. On the same date this informant advised

- 1-New York (100-81675) (CP, USA-PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS) (19-1)
- 1-New York (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (7-2)
- 1-New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-9352) () (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (7-2)
- 1-New York (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-25623) (ERIC BERT) (20-11)
- 1-New York (100-132430) (CP, USA - INDUSTRIAL DIVISION - NEW YORK DISTRICT) (19-2)
- 1-New York (100-80641) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-18673) () (19-2)
- 1-New York (100-26603) Sub C43 (CP, USA - BROOKLYN)
- 1-New York (100-26603) Sub C41 (CP, USA - QUEENS)
- 1-New York (100-26603) Sub C40 (CP, USA - BRONX)
- 1-New York (100-26603) Sub C1892 (CP, USA-LOWER HARLEM) (12-15)
- 1-New York (100-52959) () (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (19-2)
- 1-New York (100-50094) () (12-16)
- 1-New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (19-1)
- 1-New York (65-5604) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (12-11)
- 1-New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19-3)
- 1-New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-80640) (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-88031) () (12-13)
- 1-New York (100-67670) () (20-11)
- 1-New York (100-13527) () (12-13)
- 1-New York (100-54555) () (12-14)
- 1-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-86624) (CP-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (19-1)
- 1-New York (100-26603-C42) (CP-NY COUNTY) (12-15)
- 1-New York (100-128813)

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DFG: jb
(31)

100-95583-439

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 11 1958	
F. B. I. - NEW YORK	

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NY 100-128813

that WILLIAM ALBERTSON, while commenting to [redacted] about the staff meeting to be held on the morning of 1/17/58, remarked that that meeting would be concerned with "The Worker" subscription campaign.

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The following information was furnished by NY 2179-S*:

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN REPORTING OR OTHER USE OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THIS INFORMANT SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

NY 2179-S* advised on 1/17/58, that a meeting starting at 11:45 AM on that date was held in the NY State Board Room on the second floor at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC. Information furnished by the informant disclosed that the following persons were among those present at the meeting:

WILLIAM ALBERTSON

[redacted]
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

[redacted]
WILLIAM PATTERSON

[redacted]
JACK STACHEL

[redacted]
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

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NY 100-128813

JACK STACHEL gave a report from the NEC and discussed the future of "The Worker". Beginning in February, the sale price of the paper will be 15 cents per copy. He stated [redacted] desires to leave the paper, but prefers to delay his departure rather than appear to be associated with the GATES position; that [redacted] has withdrawn, but that SI GERSON, [redacted] and ERIC BERT will remain. He stated that the Industrial Division is setting up a council to work with the paper.

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STACHEL asserted that the paper must have coverage of the Socialist countries, of Asia and Latin America. He said that circulation can be increased by adherence to the Marxist line and better organization of the circulation department and of home deliveries and the like. STACHEL stated that he opposes any move to Chicago, and that he feels that the revival of both ^{the} Party and "The Worker" can better be accomplished in NY.

STACHEL stated that \$61,000 is needed to stabilize and change over "The Worker"; that there will be an annual fund drive; that the cost of production of "The Worker" must be reduced to \$40,000 making the deficit only \$50,000 rather than \$100,000. He predicted that the paper will survive if the circulation as of January, 1957 can be regained.

[redacted] made a report on "The Worker" fund drive in which he stated that Brooklyn had a goal of 5,000 and turned in 2,500; Queens had a goal of 2,500 and turned in 2,500; the Bronx had a goal of 2,000 and turned in 876; and the Industrial had a goal of 4,500 and turned in 4,075 for a total of 14,000. He suggested a need for a NY

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NY 100-128813

Press Director and pointed out that there were Press Directors for Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx, but none for Queens, or the Industrial Division. He further suggested that each county work out mobilization days and that subscriptions be obtained from comrades at the time of their registration, and that a delivery apparatus be built up. He also suggested the use of a multiple subscription system; the obtaining of bundle orders; the setting up of key concentration points such as Harlem and the East Side; selling the paper at plants; and the featuring in the paper of mass issues such as unemployment, peace and discrimination against the Puerto Ricans.

He stated that the subscription drive would begin February 1 and run until the end of March. The national goal for subscriptions is 7,500 and the goal for the NY District is three or four thousand.

[redacted] then gave a report in which he asserted that a committee should meet once each week to discuss the paper. He said that the choice of PATTERSON (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON), first Negro member of the Editorial Board of the paper, was a good one.

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[redacted] then commented that Liberals have a new intellectual line on intergration which is not good.

[redacted] spoke stating that a change must be made in the relationship between "The Worker" and the circulation apparatus.

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An unidentified female following [redacted] as a speaker expressed approval of having ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN on the staff of the paper and commented on the importance of answering the GATES' attack.

NY 100-128813

Following an interruption for lunch which was brought into the meeting room, an unidentified female speaker commented on the role "The Worker" must play in connection the growing unemployment situation in New York State and on the work that is to be done in the shops in order to involve Industrial people in "Worker" drives.

"PAT" (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) was the next speaker. He asserted that the content of the paper must be made interesting to the working class, and that someone on the staff of the paper must be responsible to the Party.

He expressed agreement with [redacted] [redacted] s) report and agreed that a Negro is needed on the staff of the paper. He stated that he (PATTERSON) would be on the editorial staff of the paper, and that he wants committees set up to work on subscriptions as well as a committee built up around the business manager. He also stated that he would like to see more Puerto Rican and Latin American news published in "The Worker".

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At one point during PATTERSON's talk, JACK STACHEL broke in to declare that there was no doubt about the fact that there was going to be a Negro on the staff of "The Worker", asserting that there positively would be one.

BILL (ALBERTSON), the next speaker, stated that he wants the paper to keep its present staff for the time being. He advocated that the paper answer attacks by GATES (JOHN GATES) and the latter's followers. He also advocated the start of a fund drive on February 1st and the publication of a

NY 100-128813

state bulletin on the results of this meeting.

The next speaker, one "WILL" (possibly WILLIAM WEINSTONE) stated that he feels that GATES' resignation has helped consolidate the Party. He expressed approval of PATTERSON as a member of the editorial staff. He suggested ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and WILLIAM PATTERSON make tours in connection with the subscription drive; that prizes be given as an incentive for subscriptions and that a "Leaflet Of The Week" regarding jobs and housing, etc., be produced and passed out in the sections.

An individual believed to be BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr. was the next speaker. He indicated the need for a political mobilization of the Party, stating that "we" have somehow got away from Marxism - Leninism, have not applied it properly; and must learn how to establish that revolutionary theory and practice; and said that he believes that GATES' resignation has consolidated the Party and has had little adverse effect at this time when Sputniks have demonstrated the amazing achievements of Socialist countries. He stated that it is his opinion that the board set up for the paper is a good one, but that he feels that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN should be included on the staff as an editor and that PATTERSON should be a member of the editorial board. He expressed the need for a political mobilization of the county membership and asserted that it was necessary for the Party in NY to work hardest on Negro and Puerto Rican peoples, stating that these people are the future of the Party. He also stated that he would also like to see "The Worker" include one page in Spanish each week or every other week.

NY 100-128813

[redacted] was the next speaker. He disagreed with certain remarks that he attributed to BEN DAVIS. He asserted that he does not feel that GATES is an issue in the Party, nor that those in agreement with GATES should have to get out of the Party.

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BEN DAVIS interrupted and denied having made any such statements as those attributed to him by [redacted]

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According to the informant, the formal talks were concluded at this point and a general conversation regarding money matters broke out in which [redacted] seemed to be ^{the} topic of discussion. The conversants included WEINSTONE, DAVIS, [redacted] and [redacted]. This conversation continued for several minutes until shortly before 4:00 PM when the participants of the meeting departed from the board room.

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3/4

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-133594) (7-2) DATE: 2/26/58
FROM : SA MAX L. WILSON (12-10)
SUBJECT: FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
IS - C

Source [redacted] (conceal identity)
Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date of event 2/2/58
Date received 2/7/58
Received by SA MAX L. WILSON
Location of information [redacted]

b7D

Use care in paraphrasing this information in event it is to be disseminated outside this Bureau.

The following is the informant's report:

- 1 - [redacted] (12-10)
- 1 - NY (100-60640) ([redacted] (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-20789) (DR. W. E. B. DU BOISE) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-0-124787C) [redacted] #1 Washington Terrace, NYC) (12-14)
- 1 - [redacted] (12-2)
- 1 - NY (100-119970) [redacted] LNU, 5'9", 150 lbs., slim, big nose, curley hair, attended JSSS, fall, 1956) (7-6)
- 1 - NY (100-97902) [redacted] (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-123290) [redacted] LNU, white, male, railroad worker) (7-6)

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MLW:man
(15)

100-95583410

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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FEB 26 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-133594

COPIES CONTINUED

- 1 - NY (100-) [redacted] LNU, male, white, age 33,
5'10", brown eyes, brown hair-balding)
(7-6)
- 1 - NY (100-128822) (CP, USA- Dist 2-~~Separation~~)(19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-128314) (CP, USA-Dist 2-Funds)(19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-128815) (CP, USA-Dist 2-Negro Question)(19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-128814) (CP, USA-Dist 2-P & P)(19-2)
- ① - NY (100-95583) (CP, USA-Line) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-133594) (Faculty of Social Science) (7-2)

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2/3/58

On the night of 2/2/58, I attended the Sunday Evening Forum held at Adelphi Hall, 74-5th Ave, N.Y.C. Topic for the night was "Limited Nuclear Warfare-Path to Distruction" with [redacted] as [redacted] and [redacted]

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Paid attendance was 15, actual attendance was 20 persons, about 15 dollars worth of literature was sold. Forum was advertised in National Guardian correctly but in D.W. it was advertised accidentally to look like Dr. Du Bois was going to speak. Only about three persons came actually expecting to hear DuBois.

(Correction in above lines, D.W. should read The Worker)

Collecting admissions was [redacted], selling literature was [redacted] and [redacted] (PH). There were only three women in attendance and no negroes, the majority of the persons were of Jewish origin.

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Persons known to me were [redacted]

[redacted] (PH) [redacted] LNU, [redacted] LNU, during the lecture and near the end of it a white male, age about 35, height about 5'9" weight about 180 lbs wore eyeglasses and was partially bald, Passed a peace petition around the room, it was addressed to the President of the U.S. About ten persons signed their name and addressess.

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The text of [redacted] talk was on an analysis of the Rockefeller Report and of the Kessinger book. Overall it was a lengthy and boring talk, two persons were actually dozing off during his talk, one of these persons was [redacted] LNU, who attended the Jefferson School of Social Science in the fall of '56 in [redacted]'s class of "What is Marxism"

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An interesting statement made by [redacted] during his speech was something that was along the lines of this thought "The U.S. satellite 'Explora' was not prided by all Americans, because the negroes in this country did not take any part in building it so therefore they really did not take part in cheering it.

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The talk ended about 10:15pm and then there was a short discussion period in which I believe only [redacted] friends took part in so as as not to make [redacted] feel too bad. About 11:00pm the discussion terminated and I saw [redacted] hand money over to [redacted] and then [redacted], [redacted] (PH), [redacted] LNU and [redacted] LNU leave together.

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Ret 1-22-58

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1763) DATE: 1/3/58
FROM: SA ROBERT R. CARMICHAEL, JR.
SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP) IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity should be concealed	12/10/57	12/19/57	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

b7D

Informant advised that on Tuesday, 12/10/57, a meeting was held in one of the small rooms at the Mischa Yablon Cultural Center on Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The members of the Section Council for Western Section, SCDCP, USA, had been advised that this meeting would take the place of the Section Council meetings previously scheduled for that evening.

b7D

- ccs: [redacted]
- 100-34884 (S. STEIN)
 - 100-32661 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-21884 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-33038 (R. HALL) (SI)
 - 100-40367 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-47776 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-22822 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-36466 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-42626 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-32212 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-26624 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-27007 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-21810 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-20664 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-30275 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-33198 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-23496 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-4663 (E. DOBBS) (SI)
 - 100-3108 (E. FREED) (SI)
 - 100-New [redacted] (LNU)
 - 100-New [redacted] (LNU)
- RRC:nlb
(34)

- 100-55501 (WESTERN SECTION)
- 100-26044 (ORGANIZATION)
- 100-23397 (CP BRIEF)
- 100-24352 (CP FACTIONALISM)
- 100-32439 (CP LINE)
- 100-24349 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 5 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)
- (SID STEIN - 100-50090)
- (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (CP LINE)
- (CP BRIEF)
- (CP FACTIONALISM)

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100-95583-441
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

The gathering was sponsored by the District Council of the SCDCP, and the featured speaker was SID STEIN, a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

Among those present known to informant were:

SID STEIN	[redacted] who arrived late
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	BEN DOBBS
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted] (LNU), a young Negro
[redacted]	woman approximately 30,
[redacted]	light in color
[redacted]	[redacted] (LNU), a white male, 40
[redacted]	years, 5'3", 130 pounds,
[redacted]	thinning brown hair, brown
[redacted]	eyes
[redacted] and [redacted]	[redacted]

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The meeting was called to order by BEN DOBBS, who said that the people present represented what formerly had been known geographically as the Western Division, LACCP. He indicated that this meeting was one of a series of five, the aim of which was to establish closer understanding between members of the more than 20 sections in the SCDCP; the leadership body of that district; the District Council; and the National Committee, CP, USA.

DOBBS called for the election of a [redacted] for the evening, and [redacted] was elected.

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[redacted] introduced SID STEIN as a person well known to him in their mutual home state of New Jersey, and cited the instances in the past when STEIN's valuable contributions to the CP in that area had aided leadership in formulating policy.

In addressing the group, STEIN stressed the need for rank and file CP members to participate in the finding of answers to questions and problems which confront the Party nationally. He pointed out the changes in inner-Party organization during the past two to three years in which "Democratic Centralism" has become democratic. He characterized the CP as being "the most democratic organization in this country today..." and urged that Party members discuss

LA 100-1763

in writing the problems, solutions to problems, etc., which they experience in mass organizational or Party club activities. According to STEIN, this discussion should be submitted to the inner-Party discussion bulletins locally and/or nationally.

STEIN expressed the view that the CP, USA should have a friendly, but when necessary, critical, attitude toward the CP Soviet Union.

As far as the National Committee is concerned, it was STEIN's stated opinion that neither GATES nor FOSTER has any tremendous following as such. He pointed out that the various votes from this body on various questions followed neither extreme of opinions.

Observed reactions to STEIN's remarks ranged from [redacted]'s remark that "he (STEIN) isn't talking about any CP that I want...there should be one CP for him and one for people who want a CP..." to [redacted]'s obvious agreement on most points made.

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ACTION

Inasmuch as this is a CP meeting described above, it is recommended that new cases be opened to determine the identities of [redacted] (LNU) and [redacted] (LNU). In this regard, the possibility exists that this unidentified [redacted] may be identical with [redacted].

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Informant was thoroughly interviewed regarding this report and could furnish no additional information.

All other necessary action in connection with the above has been taken by the writer.

CW
1-10

John

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted]

DATE: 1/7/58 b7D

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	12/7/57 Activities of JAMES JACKSON	12/11/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

b7D

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

For assistance in reviewing report, a number in parentheses () following a name or title set forth below will indicate that there is a reference to that name or title on the page or pages whose number will be enclosed in the parentheses. Where no number is set out, it is suggested that the entire report be reviewed for information on the subject matter.

[redacted] father is [redacted]. A copy of this report is, therefore, being routed to his file.

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The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

(See following pages for copies)

RCN:jmc
(50)

jmc

443

100-95583

BALTIMORE, MD.	
JAN. 7. 1958	
SEARCHED <i>2/2</i>	INDEXED <i>2/2</i>
SERIALIZED <i>2/2</i>	FILED <i>2/2</i>
JAN 14 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

OK

John

[REDACTED] b7D

- 2 - Little Rock (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION (8)
MEMBERSHIP (8)
- 2 - Memphis (REGISTERED MAIL)
MISSISSIPPI MEMBERSHIP (8)
MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZATION (8)
- 2 - New Orleans (REGISTERED MAIL)
MISSISSIPPI MEMBERSHIP (8)
MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZATION (8)
- 2 - Knoxville (REGISTERED MAIL)
TENNESSEE ORGANIZATION (8)
TENNESSEE MEMBERSHIP (8)
- 2 - Mobile (REGISTERED MAIL)
ALABAMA MEMBERSHIP (9)
ALABAMA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 2 - Birmingham (REGISTERED MAIL)
ALABAMA MEMBERSHIP (9)
ALABAMA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 2 - Richmond (REGISTERED MAIL)
VIRGINIA MEMBERSHIP (9)
VIRGINIA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 2 - Norfolk (REGISTERED MAIL)
VIRGINIA MEMBERSHIP (9)
VIRGINIA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 1 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DIST. 4 (2,3,4,10)
- ①7 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
JAMES JACKSON
FACTIONALISM (4,5,8,10,11,12)
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA (4,5,6,7,8,9,10)
BEN DAVIS (4)
EUGENE DENNIS (4,12)
[REDACTED] (4)
(cont'd page 1B)

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

b7D

17 - New York (cont'd)

JOHN GATES (4)

SID STEIN (4)

FRED FINE (4)

CP LINE (5,6,7)

BRIEF (5,6,7)

UNDERGROUND (6)

100-13166 CP, USA, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMM. (7,8,9)

MEMBERSHIP (8,9)

NEGRO QUESTION (7,8,9)

FUNDS (9,10)

SECURITY MEASURES (11,12)

16 - Baltimore

100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS

100-10584 [REDACTED]

100-14379 JAMES JACKSON

100-12425 [REDACTED]

100-20176 [REDACTED]

100-12412 [REDACTED] (2)

100-10975 [REDACTED] (2,3)

100-12537 [REDACTED] (3)

100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DIST. 4 (2,3,4,10)

100-4090 BALTO. DIST. 4 (2,3,4,10)

100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES (2,3,12)

100-12458 FACTIONALISM (4)

100-11800 BRIEF (5)

100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION (9)

100-11640 FUNDS (9,10)

[REDACTED]

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[redacted] b7D

"Baltimore, Maryland
December 11, 1957

The following report concerns a CP meeting at the home of GEORGE MEYERS on December 7, 1957, with JAMES JACKSON, national CP leader, GEORGE MEYERS and [redacted] present. GEORGE MEYERS is the Acting Chairman for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C. [redacted] is a District Board member.

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[redacted] and JAMES JACKSON arrived at GEORGE MEYERS' home at about 9:35 PM, and apologized for being late.

GEORGE MEYERS received [redacted] and JACKSON. [redacted] GEORGE MEYERS' [redacted] was in the living room with her father.

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MEYERS, [redacted] and JACKSON sat down in the dining room of the MEYERS home and commenced their discussion.

MEYERS stated that [redacted] District Board member, was unable to attend the meeting since he had several invitations from people in his neighborhood. MEYERS then said that he would try to have [redacted] meet JACKSON early Sunday morning.

MEYERS then stated that he had gone to the home of [redacted] District Board member as well as District Secretary and Treasurer, on Thursday and Friday night, December 5th and 6th, in an effort to contact her and advise her that a District Board meeting was going to be held at MEYERS' home on December 7th. MEYERS said that he had been unable to get in touch with [redacted] and since she was not present suggested that the meeting get underway.

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MEYERS said to [redacted] that he wanted to clear up something and should have spoken of the matter before. He said the reason that he was bringing it up now was because he didn't want [redacted] to become angry with the whole Party in this area for accusing [redacted] of being a government informant.

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[redacted] stated that such accusations placed an individual

[REDACTED] b7D

in a difficult position and made that person feel that he did not know whom to trust.

MEYERS stated that [REDACTED] had accused [REDACTED] of being a government informant because [REDACTED] felt that he was under FBI surveillance. MEYERS said that various friends of [REDACTED] had asked him why, after being in contact with [REDACTED] for many years, he suddenly had become suspicious of him.

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MEYERS said that [REDACTED] in replying to individuals who had asked him about [REDACTED] had been unable to give any sort of story that made sense. MEYERS then pointed out that [REDACTED] had never said anything against [REDACTED] until he had learned that [REDACTED] had become a member of the CP District Board. MEYERS then commented that when a person is placed in a leadership position in the CP, he is "put on the spot." MEYERS then assured [REDACTED] that from the many conversations he has had with CP members and from the general atmosphere surrounding the issue of [REDACTED] being suspected, he felt that [REDACTED] had no cause to worry. MEYERS then stated that no one else in the Party in this area has accused [REDACTED] of being an informant. MEYERS said that he had talked with [REDACTED] concerning this particular issue, and had made it clear to [REDACTED] that [REDACTED]'s statement had no basis.

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[REDACTED] then stated that he could not understand [REDACTED] making such a statement against him. [REDACTED] pointed out that [REDACTED] claimed that he was fighting for Negro equality. [REDACTED] then pointed out that [REDACTED] seemed to change as he became more successful in business, and seemed to lose his working class attitude. [REDACTED] then suggested that perhaps [REDACTED] was angry because he, [REDACTED], had not quit the CP when [REDACTED] left the Party.

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Both JACKSON and MEYERS then stated that the last point made by [REDACTED] might be the answer to [REDACTED]'s accusation against [REDACTED] and they noted that a number of people in the past had been accused of being informants because they did not quit the Party when close friends left the CP.

MEYERS then explained to JACKSON that the reason for the situation in this area so far as concerns the CP members was because of ideological differences between himself and past District Board members. MEYERS then told JACKSON of the meetings that had taken place between the past and present District Board members, one of them being a meeting on October 27, 1957, in Washington, D. C., and the other being November 17, 1957, in Baltimore.

JACKSON then stated that such differences existed all over the country, and that the causes for these differences had come about because of CP national leadership. JACKSON said the Party was striving to rebuild itself, and that could only be done through a struggle.

JACKSON then spoke of the factionalism that was going on among the CP national leadership, and pointed out that a part of the leadership wanted to dissolve the CP and form a Socialist group or an educational group. JACKSON then spoke of the national leaders holding a meeting and electing five people to draw up a program for future operation of the Party. JACKSON said that after these five people had drawn up the program, it was submitted to the national leaders and was voted upon. As a result of the vote, four of the national leaders indicated they were in favor of the program and three voted against it. JACKSON said that the four that were in favor of the program were JAMES JACKSON, BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS and [REDACTED]. JACKSON said that JOHN GATES, SID STEIN and FRED FINE voted against the program. JACKSON then pointed out that a bitter struggle was expected among the national CP leaders at CP national meetings in December.

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JACKSON then stated that the Party leaders had made mistakes in the past because they had not looked carefully into the situation and realized what was going to take place after World War II. JACKSON said that with the past experience that the Party leaders had at their disposal insofar as attacks against the Party by reactionary forces, they should have been well prepared when attacked by the McCarthyite forces. JACKSON said that the Party leaders instead of mobilizing

the masses of workers with whom the CP leaders were in contact, the CP leaders isolated themselves from the masses by ordering the majority of the national leaders and Party functionaries to go underground.

JACKSON said that he had no excuses since he was one of the leaders who supported this type of activity, not realizing at the time that when there was no Party leadership the rank and file CP members would become divided.

JACKSON said that the reason the McCarthy forces took advantage of the Party was because the leaders of the CP who were left to carry on the struggle did not see fit at that time to change the Party line.

JACKSON then stated that the old Party line was to follow Marxist-Leninist theory. JACKSON then pointed out Marxist-Leninist theory points out that the only way Socialism would come about would be through revolutionary activities. JACKSON said that, of course, this type of theory (Marxist-Leninist), when first drawn up, had applied to the Soviet Union and to the majority of the countries in Europe.

JACKSON then stated that if those CP leaders who were leading the Party at the time the majority of the national leaders had gone underground had changed the "tune" of Marxist-Leninist theory to a "tune" of peaceful co-existence, they might at that time have changed the whole picture insofar as an attack against the Party by the U. S. Government. JACKSON then explained that he meant that by the Party continuing to practice the Marxist-Leninist principles as known to them in the past, that is the fact that the only way Socialism could come about was by revolution, gave the U. S. Government the opportunity to accuse the CP and say that the CP was preaching force and violence and the overthrowing of the U. S. Government.

JACKSON then stated that there was no getting around the fact that Marx and Lenin have pointed out that in

order to bring about Socialism, revolutionary activity must be emphasized. JACKSON said that Socialism in the Soviet Union and in Europe did not come about by having one or two revolutionary struggles, but through continuous revolutionary struggles, and that these struggles continued until Socialism came about to the workers.

JACKSON then commented that revolutionary struggles in the Soviet Union had driven out people such as LEON TROTSKY. JACKSON said again that in the United States as soon as the CP had found out what the U. S. Government intended to use against the Party, that is the fact that the Party was following Marxist-Leninist teachings, the CP should have modified the language of Marx and Lenin to suit the situation in the United States. JACKSON said that in other words, he meant that at that time the Party should have modified the word "revolutionary" to the term "peaceful co-existence." JACKSON said by doing so the Party would not have been attacked so vigorously by the U. S. Government, and in modifying the word "revolutionary" to the term "peaceful co-existence" the CP would have also been in a better position to convince more American people that Socialism could come about by peaceful means. JACKSON said at the same time the Party, while temporarily forgetting about the real meaning of Marxism-Leninism as to how Socialism would come about, would have been able to mobilize the masses of people, then at some later stage the CP with masses of people mobilized would have been able to actually carry out the real basic meaning of Marxist-Leninist theory on how to bring Socialism to the United States.

JACKSON said that instead of doing as he had mentioned above, the CP leaders had disappeared underground and left the membership to the reactionary forces, and as a result the CP became almost totally isolated from the masses of people. JACKSON then stated that he was convinced that no other organization such as a Political Association or an Educational Association could take the place of the CP.

JACKSON then stated that he was convinced that since

"our" Party is a working class party and has pledged itself to play a vanguard role for the working class that now more so than at any time in the past the Party needed a greater amount of working class leaders. JACKSON said that this did not mean that the Party should not have people of various educational backgrounds as leaders, but the real Party leadership should consist of people with basic working experience and leaders should be workers who had come from the shops, plants or farms. JACKSON then said that with such leaders and working masses to draw from, the Party could grow.

JACKSON then emphasized that in no country had Socialism come about without a struggle. JACKSON said that in the Soviet Union as well as other European countries where Socialism had come about there had been a capitalist class just the same as the capitalist class in the United States. JACKSON said despite the capitalist class in the Soviet Union and other European countries, Socialism had come about and it could also come about in America.

JACKSON then said that he was convinced in the 1930s that Socialism was about ready to come to the United States. JACKSON pointed out that at that time the Party was in a growing stage and did not realize the great opportunity they had at that time to bring Socialism to this country. JACKSON said that even though the Party failed in the 1930s, he still had confidence that the Party would bring Socialism to America.

JACKSON then stated that he wanted to give some information with regard to the situation in the South. JACKSON then said that some people who do not have any experience as regards what was taking place in the South felt that the CP had numerous CP members in the South. JACKSON then said that there was not a CP national leader who had the experience that he, JACKSON had of the situation in the South insofar as the CP was concerned.

JACKSON then stated that he had lived in every hole and corner in the South in the past 27 years, and had helped organize all types of CP activity throughout

the South. JACKSON said that in some instances he got good response and in some instances no response.

JACKSON stated that he had had a bitter discussion in New York with national leaders who were trying to make another individual responsible for CP activity throughout the South, but he fought the matter to a conclusion and made them agree that there was no one else who knew the Southern situation as well as himself.

JACKSON then commented that in some sections of the South the CP did not exist. JACKSON commented that in Mississippi there were a few Party functionaries, but that the total membership of Mississippi was only four. JACKSON then commented that the Party, however, still survives in Mississippi.

JACKSON then mentioned the case of a Negro preacher who had been shot in Mississippi (time not indicated), and pointed out that if the Party had not been in existence in Mississippi there would have been no activity which led to an exposure of the racist forces. JACKSON said by having these four CP members in Mississippi, the CP had been able to generate considerable agitation around the death of the preacher.

JACKSON then said that in Little Rock, Arkansas, the CP had been partly responsible for the agitation which had taken place concerning the situation at the Central High School. JACKSON said that in the State of Arkansas the CP membership was small, but even though small had been able to carry on some sort of activity.

JACKSON then commented that during the Little Rock situation disturbance, a white preacher had spoken out in favor of integration. JACKSON stated that this had come about through the CP.

JACKSON then mentioned the situation in Tennessee, saying that the Party there was not large but pointing out that it was the CP forces who had opposed the group in that area who did not want to see the integration of Negro and white students.

JACKSON then said that in Alabama "we" have a Party, and commented that it was not very large but "very effective." JACKSON then said that the CP had played a great role in the struggle surrounding the bus boycott, which had taken place a year or so ago in Montgomery, Alabama.

JACKSON then stated that he had been on a tour for the CP in Richmond, Virginia (time not stated) to muster up money from professional people for the CP. JACKSON said he had gone into Richmond, Virginia, knowing that there was no Party there, and had contacted every Negro doctor in Richmond. JACKSON said that even though these people did not fully agree with the role the CP was trying to play, he received contributions from every Negro physician in Richmond, the amounts ranging from \$25.00 to \$150.00.

JACKSON then stated that he felt that the CP in the South could grow and what it actually needed was physical activity. JACKSON said that by activity he meant that whomever accepted responsibility for CP activity in that area would have to face the situation as it existed and still get something accomplished.

JACKSON then commented that even though the Supreme Court of the United States in recent decisions had changed the atmosphere surrounding the CP a good deal, the Party itself was still facing a crucial period.

JACKSON said that he had not talked to Negroes in this area as yet to get their feeling on the general situation, but from reports he has received from MEYERS he felt that the Negroes in this area were in part driven out of the CP by the past CP leaders in this area. JACKSON then commented that this did not mean that these people were completely lost to the Party.

JACKSON then stated that he wanted to give a brief picture as to what had taken place with regard to full time Party functionaries. JACKSON said that the

National Committee has had requests from all over the country for full time Party functionaries for their respective areas. JACKSON then stated that the CP has been in a very bad position financially, being almost bankrupt due to all of the trials that had taken place in recent years. JACKSON said that the Party also had to contribute money to help comrades who were being released from jail. JACKSON said that the CP at the present time was not able to put a full time functionary in every area.

JACKSON then stated that he had made a proposal to national leaders that certain areas such as Baltimore where Party membership should be over 100 should be assisted in regard to their having a full time paid functionary. JACKSON said, however, that the District must prove to the national leaders that the District was able to maintain a membership of at least 100 people.

JACKSON said at first he proposed that \$75.00 a week be given to various areas to assist in the paying of full time functionaries, but after discussion it was brought down to \$50.00 a week, and after later discussion \$75.00 a month. JACKSON said that the discussions have still not ended on this point, but that it was felt that if a large District could furnish \$75.00 a month towards the pay of a full time functionary then National Headquarters might be able to furnish the rest of the pay, based upon a cost of living for that particular area. JACKSON said that he felt that it would take more than \$200.00 a month for a full time functionary to live, and that that would have to be the full time functionary's pay until such time as the Party would recruit more members. JACKSON said as the Party continued to grow, the full time functionaries could get more money.

JACKSON said that there was a National Committee meeting coming up in December, which would involve sharp discussions around a letter that had been sent to the National Committee by comrades from California. JACKSON said the only thing that he could make of that

letter was that the comrades from California wanted to dissolve the CP.

JACKSON then stated that as he saw the situation which was shaping up around CP policy, there would be an extremely bitter fight at the National Committee meetings in December. JACKSON said that those of "us" who maintain that there should be a CP feel that our program will be supported by a majority of the rank and file CP members. JACKSON said the reason he felt this way was because of the discussions that had taken place at the National Convention which centered around the suggestions that the name and form of the CP be changed.

JACKSON stated that the National Executive CP meeting in December would lay the groundwork for the big decision which would take place in February, 1958. JACKSON said it had been decided among the national leaders that the situation would be brought to a close in February, and that at that time "we" would have a Communist Party or a Political or Educational Association. JACKSON then stated that whatever came out of the February, 1958, National Committee meeting would be the final decision in regard to changing the name and form of the organization.

JACKSON then stated that he had every confidence that those persons who were supporting the maintenance of the present name and form of the organization would win out.

JACKSON said that he was not too greatly disturbed about the fact that some Party members were accusing others of being government informers. JACKSON said he did not feel that the membership should become excited and confused because of accusations that some among them were government informers. JACKSON stated that if every individual as soon as he learned that a CP member was being accused of being an informant was to ask himself as to how much proof there was against the accused person, the situation would not become so confused. JACKSON said that he felt that every accuser should put his accusation in writing, and commented that

[REDACTED]

he felt that many of the individuals who were accusers might be doing this in order to cover up for their own lack of activity.

JACKSON then said that he felt the District leadership in every area had a responsibility with regard to digging into accusations that some of the members were informants, and should see that matters were brought to a head. JACKSON said that he felt that until such time as proof had been given against an accused comrade, the comrade should be allowed to be a part of the organization. JACKSON said that in the meantime the CP could keep a close check, not only on the person accused but also on the accuser.

[REDACTED] then stated that he was very much interested in the remarks given by JACKSON, and pointed out that the CP District in this area was trying to carry on a struggle to rebuild the CP. [REDACTED] said that this CP District had always been interested in having national leaders down to their area to assist with problems.

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[REDACTED] said that he believed JACKSON's suggestions with regard to developing Negro members by the formation of social clubs was both good and practical.

[REDACTED] then asked JACKSON whether the District had the power to work with persons accused of being informants without having conflict with national procedures.

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JACKSON replied that at the present time more than ever the constitution of the CP gives a right to everyone in the organization to demand proof be brought against them and to have a hearing. JACKSON then said that the national leadership was bound by the constitution.

[REDACTED] then asked JACKSON what would happen if there were conflict among national leaders with regard to sections of the constitution.

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MEYERS then commented that this matter of conflicts has concerned EUGENE DENNIS and as a result DENNIS has tried in the past and still tries to play all conflicts off in a corner.

[REDACTED]

The meeting then ended about 12 midnight, and MEYERS drove [REDACTED] and JACKSON to [REDACTED] s home."

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

pm 1/20

Jdm

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, [redacted]
FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON
SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: 1/7/58 b7D

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	12/8/57 Activities of JAMES JACKSON	12/12/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

b7D

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

For assistance in reviewing report, a number in parentheses () following a name or title set forth below will indicate that there is a reference to that name or title on the page or pages whose number will be enclosed in the parentheses. Where no number is set out, it is suggested that the entire report be reviewed for information on the subject matter.

[redacted] son referred to in below report is apparently [redacted]. See 140-0-4005 which refers to [redacted] [redacted] son seeking government employment. A copy of this report is being placed in the 140-0 file and made 140-0-4005A.

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The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

(See page 1A for copies)

RCN:jmc
(26)

jmc

100-95583-447

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
19 JAN 13 1958	

BALTIMORE, MD.	
JAN. 7, 1958	

JH

[Redacted]

b7D

cc's:

2 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DIST. 4 (4,5,8,9)
JAMES JACKSON

⑤ - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
JAMES JACKSON
NEGRO QUESTION (5,6)
BRIEF (7)
CP LINE (7)

[Redacted] (10)

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b7C

19 - Baltimore

100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS (2,3,9,10,11)

100-10584 [Redacted]

100-12412 [Redacted] (2)

100-13279 [Redacted] (2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9)

100-9665 [Redacted] (2,3,7,8)

100-16252 [Redacted] (2,3)

100-13286 [Redacted] (3,4)

100-12395 [Redacted] (3)

100-10995 [Redacted] (3)

100-11953 [Redacted] (3)

100-11961 [Redacted] (7,8)

100-11386 [Redacted] (7,8)

100-10013 [Redacted] (9,10)

100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DIST. 4 (4,5,8,9)

100-4090 BALTO. DIST. 4 (4,5,8,9)

100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES (4)

100-12458 FACTIONALISM (4)

140-0-4005A [Redacted] (4)

[Redacted]

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[redacted]
RON:sm

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"Baltimore, Maryland
December 12, 1957

The following report concerns the activities of GEORGE MEYERS, JAMES JACKSON and [redacted] on December 8, 1957, from approximately 1:50 PM to about 4:00 PM. JAMES JACKSON is a national CP leader from New York. GEORGE MEYERS is the Acting Chairman for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C. [redacted] is a District Board member.

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GEORGE MEYERS and JAMES JACKSON picked [redacted] up at Redwood and Light Streets, Baltimore, at about 1:50 PM. They then drove in MEYERS' automobile to the Main Post Office Building. GEORGE MEYERS and [redacted] waited in the automobile while JACKSON went inside to mail a letter that he said was directed to [redacted].

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MEYERS then drove JACKSON and [redacted] to the home of [redacted].

While on the way to [redacted], MEYERS told [redacted] that there had been a round table discussion at [redacted]'s home that morning. The discussion took place between 11:00 AM and 12:20 PM.

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MEYERS said that he had called [redacted] first thing Sunday morning and had asked him to come over to MEYERS' home. After [redacted] arrived, MEYERS and [redacted] had picked up [redacted] and taken them to [redacted]'s home.

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MEYERS continued by saying that during the period he mentioned before, that is 11:00 AM to about 12:20 PM, he, MEYERS, [redacted] and JACKSON discussed various matters that they thought were important relative to getting the Party under way in this area.

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MEYERS said that [redacted] had told the group that he, [redacted] had met [redacted] and that

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] had given [redacted] his address and telephone number. MEYERS said that [redacted] stated that after he, [redacted], had a short discussion with [redacted], [redacted] told [redacted] that he, [redacted] had a friend whom he wanted [redacted] to meet. MEYERS said that according to [redacted] had asked as to the identity of the friend and after [redacted]'s name had been mentioned, [redacted] said that he recalled seeing [redacted] at various CP affairs and told [redacted] that it would be okay for [redacted] and [redacted] to visit with him.

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MEYERS drove JACKSON and [redacted] to the vicinity of [redacted] home. JACKSON and [redacted] got out at Oliver and Bethel Streets and walked over to [redacted] house. They found [redacted] and [redacted] at home.

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After 10 or 15 minutes social conversation and after JACKSON had been introduced to [redacted], [redacted] left for work.

[redacted] asked [redacted] as to her son's wedding and asked her whether any Progressive whites had paid a visit.

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[redacted] said that [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] had come to pay a visit.

[redacted] then told [redacted] that he and JACKSON had gotten together and that JACKSON had suggested, in order to stimulate discussion and bring new members into the CP, that a social group or club be formed among the Negro people in the city. [redacted] said that JACKSON further suggested that matters of current interest were to be discussed and if it appeared that some individuals were interested in Socialism, they should be checked on as possible recruits for the CP.

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[redacted] replied that at the present time she did not see how she could work with the CP if the Party still carried on the same type of activity insofar as security measures were concerned.

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[REDACTED] b7D

She further said that she didn't know of what value she could be to the Party.

[REDACTED] then said she had left the CP because of attacks by the Government against the Party. [REDACTED] said that the CP leaders during that era disbanded rank and file groups and began dividing clubs and sections into such small groups that these groups became ineffective. [REDACTED] said further during that period those CP members that wanted to carry on a struggle were told not to carry on that type of activity openly. [REDACTED] said that the security measures became so bad that Party leaders began to tell the rank and file as to who should visit their homes and who should not visit their homes. [REDACTED] said that she completely disagreed with this type of instruction.

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[REDACTED] said that she and [REDACTED] had never lost hope or faith in the CP, but after discussions had decided not to have anything to do with the Party until a Party program had been produced that would be effective for CP members and for the working masses.

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[REDACTED] said that some of the activities carried on by Party members during the period the Party was under intensive attack by the Government disgusted her. [REDACTED] said that during that time Party activity took place behind closed doors and decisions were made behind closed doors but never brought out into the open.

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[REDACTED] said it was not she and [REDACTED] alone but the majority of Negro members in the CP who felt that the time taken up in discussion behind closed doors was useless.

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[REDACTED] said that even though [REDACTED] had paid visits to her home and she had agreed to accept CP literature from him, she and her husband had not as yet agreed to actually become CP members.

[REDACTED] then stated that her son had gone to look for a job and they had given him a form to fill out.

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[redacted]

[redacted] said on this form they asked him if he belonged to a subversive organization. When he filled the form out, he said no to that question, and after looking the form over, the employer called [redacted]' son into the office and asked him about an organization that they said they had information on to the effect that he had once been a member.

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[redacted] said from her son's understanding they had told him that he had belonged at one time to a subversive organization. [redacted] said that finally after her son refused to admit that he had belonged to such an organization and had refused to answer the question on the form, he was refused the job.

[redacted] then commented that the role of the CP was supposed to benefit the Negro, but that this declared role of the Party to her knowledge is merely on paper and that she knew of no activity being made to carry out that role.

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[redacted] then indicated that although she was not a member of the CP, "we" might be able to start some kind of a social organization and then recruit people into the CP. [redacted] said that it was her experience in the past that it was best to come out in the open and explain to people what the CP was trying to accomplish rather than start social clubs and wait six months to a year before explaining the purposes of the CP.

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[redacted] then said in any case she would think the matter over and when next visited by [redacted] would discuss the matter with him.

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JACKSON then told [redacted] he could sympathize with her feelings, being a Negro and having worked himself with masses of Negroes in the South. JACKSON pointed out that the Negroes in the South did not have the same opportunity to participate in CP activities as openly as the Negroes in this area. JACKSON then said that the national leadership, of which he was a member, was way overdue in correcting some of the errors and mistakes that had been made

in areas where the CP had had a better chance to operate than in the South.

JACKSON then stated that he had been in a number of places in the South and had gone into areas where there was no CP or CP members at all. JACKSON said his short visit to Baltimore was most inspiring and he felt that there was an effort in this area to build the Party.

JACKSON stated that in the time of his visit to Baltimore he felt that he had learned that the local CP leaders had taken steps to correct some of the past mistakes and errors in this area and had begun to work with those people who had a close tie with the working masses. JACKSON then commented that the Party in this area would have been in a better position if they had kept their ties with people who had left the Party. JACKSON said even if these people had left the Party, if they had been kept in contact, these former Party members would have been more sympathetic and more willing to assist actively in a Party program.

JACKSON then said that neither [REDACTED] nor [REDACTED] should be disheartened because a number of people contacted wouldn't give a yes or no answer with regard to returning to the CP or accepting CP literature. JACKSON said there were many reasons for a refusal. He pointed out there were a lot of people who had good jobs and did not want to get themselves involved with the CP for fear of losing their jobs. JACKSON said on the other hand a lot of people who have jobs that they are not afraid of losing may be angry with the CP because of the way that Party leaders in the past had handled matters in this area. JACKSON said that a great deal of discontent has apparently been aroused by tight security measures and the fact that the Party in this area was apparently unwilling to carry on a struggle for the masses.

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JACKSON said that even though the United States Supreme Court decisions relative to throwing out

[REDACTED] b7D

a number of Smith Act cases had been favorable to the Party, there was still a number of people who were not too sure that they desired to return to the organization.

JACKSON then stated that the national leadership of the CP has recognized its past mistakes and was trying to correct all such past errors and mistakes.

JACKSON explained to [REDACTED] that the Party during the period it was under attack had made a mistake in attempting to carry on its fight for Socialism under Marxist-Leninist theory which theory advocated that Socialism could not come about unless there was a revolution. JACKSON stated that at the time the Party was under attack and the majority of leaders underground, those leaders still in charge of the Party should have modified the Party line from revolutionary to peaceful coexistence.

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JACKSON then explained to [REDACTED] the CP membership situation in the South as he had explained it to [REDACTED] and GEORGE MEYERS on the night of December 7, 1957.

JACKSON then stated at the end of the discussion with [REDACTED] that she should take under consideration the role that the CP had played in the late 1929's and early 1930's and also the role the CP had played in bringing about the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). JACKSON said he was sure that [REDACTED] would remember the CIO since she had given leadership to the furniture workers local at that time and was a part of the fight.

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JACKSON then stated that he had been greatly impressed by the people that he had met with in this area, such as [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. JACKSON said he was sorry he had not been able to see [REDACTED] and noted when he had paid a visit to [REDACTED]'s home, [REDACTED] had not been there. JACKSON then stated that all of

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these people had played a great role in the labor movement and that if the CP had had that type of leadership in the South, he was sure the Party would have been able to achieve much more than had been achieved.

JACKSON then said that the reason he proposed social clubs was because that afforded a small amount of security for the Party and for the people in the clubs. JACKSON then said that while he did not agree with some of the attacks made by some Party members against others by branding people as Government informers, there was still a great need to be careful and that by setting up a social club, some type of activity could be carried on by the CP and at the same time the CP membership in the social group would be protected while being in close contact with the masses. JACKSON then said from this social club there could be picked certain trusted people and place them in a Party group. JACKSON explained by doing this you would have a group within a group. First there would be the social group and within the social group there would be a smaller group which would consist of CP members. JACKSON said that not only here but everywhere he visited he was going to urge that this type of activity be carried out. JACKSON then pointed out that as the group began to grow in size, it could invite one or two white progressives and thus introduce Negro and white unity to the social group.

JACKSON asked that he not be misunderstood when he asked that the social groups at first be set up with Negro members alone. JACKSON pointed out that he supported the principle of Negro and white unity but thought that it would be better to first get the group organized.

JACKSON and [REDACTED] then got up to leave.

[REDACTED] asked what JACKSON thought would be the best method to start discussion in the social group.

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[REDACTED] replied saying that the group could talk about the new FEPC laws, the 1958 elections, the

[redacted] b7D

high price of food and other issues of that sort.

JACKSON stated that [redacted] had the general idea and that they should not leave out the question of trying to build the Party. JACKSON then stated the method to use if a person were suspected of being a Government informer within the group would be to keep him out of the CP group meetings. JACKSON then suggested to make the situation "hazy" for Government informers who might be in the social group that the CP should obtain literature from the NAACP or the Urban League to use as springboards for social group discussions. [redacted] then agreed to meet with [redacted] and anyone else that [redacted] might bring in an attempt to establish such a social group as had been described by JACKSON.

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[redacted] then pointed out that the holidays were coming and he did not think that the group could be started in the immediate future.

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[redacted] agreed, saying that that was true and he would be welcome at any time.

JACKSON and [redacted] left [redacted] home at about 3:00 PM.

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On the way out of [redacted] home, JACKSON asked [redacted] whether he had a definite contact arranged with [redacted].

[redacted] said no contact had been arranged, that he had merely gone to [redacted]'s home on December 7th and since [redacted] was not at home, had thought he and JACKSON might stop over [redacted]'s place on Sunday.

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JACKSON then said that he had a sore throat and was very tired. JACKSON said that the Baltimore District had kept him very busy and indicated that he did not believe that [redacted] or MEYERS should attempt any more activity on this visit on behalf of JACKSON.

JACKSON said that he had been very impressed by the people whom he had met and indicated that even

[redacted] b7D

though the National Committee did not give him authority in the future to return to Baltimore, he would come back on his own.

JACKSON said that he was expecting that the situation in the CP after February, 1958, would be much different than it is today and that if he returned to Baltimore after February, he would probably stay down for about a week.

As they were walking away from [redacted] home, [redacted] suggested that JACKSON might best take the train home since it would take at least four or five hours to set up a meeting with [redacted]. JACKSON agreed.

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JACKSON and [redacted] then picked up a taxicab at Caroline and Preston Streets.

While riding in the cab, JACKSON gave [redacted] the address and phone number of [redacted] in New York City which was [redacted] phone number EV or EN 9-0442.

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After arriving at Pennsylvania Station at about 3:15 PM, [redacted] called GEORGE MEYERS and brought JACKSON to the phone.

JACKSON spoke to MEYERS on the phone asking him to bring JACKSON's grip to Pennsylvania Station since he, JACKSON, intended to leave for New York.

JACKSON, after the phone call, thanked [redacted] for his hospitality and instructed [redacted] to get in touch with [redacted]. JACKSON told [redacted] that he should pay [redacted] a visit in New York, and that he, JACKSON, would keep in touch with [redacted] and that when [redacted] got to New York, he, JACKSON, would get in touch with [redacted] and [redacted] since he wanted further discussions with [redacted].

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JACKSON then asked [redacted] to try to distribute as many December Political Affairs as possible

[REDACTED] b7D

since JACKSON's report on the situation in the South had appeared in that issue.

GEORGE MEYERS arrived at the station at about 3:40 PM and JACKSON boarded the train for New York.

MEYERS then invited [REDACTED] to dinner. [REDACTED] refused and separated from MEYERS at about 4:00 PM."

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

Jdm

OFFICE-MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013)
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP

DATE: 1/9/58

ReNY airtel to Director, 11/8/57.

Source	[REDACTED]
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
Information Furnished	Rough Draft of Club Executive Minutes Number 17, 10/11/57 (some portions missing)
Date Received	11/7/57
Received By	SA [REDACTED]
Location	100-4013-1A2055

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- 2 - Bureau (100-16)(RM)
- 2 - Newark (100-1984)(RM)
- (1 - Newark (100-40435) [REDACTED])
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-48285) [REDACTED] (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-7388) ("BARR" - FARRELL DOBES)
- 1 - New York (100-48253) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-61363) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-79299) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-26400) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-51791) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-50937) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-59476) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-85199) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-80679) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-84574) [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-4013)

All copies
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(24)

Juw

100-95583-445

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JAN 10 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

NY 100-4013

[redacted] furnished, as set forth above, information in the legal custody of the informant which was obtained at SWP Headquarters, 116 University Place, NYC.

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A summary of pertinent information contained in the above described material was set forth in reairtel.

Information contained in the material furnished by [redacted] is as follows:

Regular members present in the Club Executive were listed as "[redacted] and [redacted]."

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Alternate Club Executive members present were listed as being [redacted] and [redacted]."

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[redacted] a former top ranking SWP member advised on 3/20/53, that Club Executive was the term used to designate meetings of the SWP Political Committee.

Information furnished by [redacted] further reflected that the chairman of the meeting 10/11/57, was [redacted] and the first item on the agenda concerned the TROTSKY School. A report on the TROTSKY School was made by [redacted] who said that it was the general consensus of former students at the TROTSKY School that at the next session there would be a variegated curriculum. This viewpoint was discussed with the SWP Secretariat and they proposed the following tentative curriculum with the understanding that Comrade [redacted] should be consulted before a final determination was made.

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- 1 - New York (100-84588) ("WALLACE" - GEORGE WEISSMAN)
- 1 - New York (100-108285) ([redacted])
- 1 - New York (100-59096) ([redacted])
- 1 - New York (100-14606) ([redacted]) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-131940) (AMERICAN FORUM) (7-3)
- 1 - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA LINE) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-129802) (CP, USA COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (19)

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[redacted] (It is noted that in the material furnished by [redacted] the name of [redacted] was typed below the name [redacted] and crossed out with pencil.)

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The tentative curriculum was listed as follows:

1. Introductory study of Marxist economics based on Capital and related works. This is to be introductory and not exhaustive.
2. A course around the Russian question based upon TROTSKY's works, "The Revolution Betrayed" and "History of the Russian Revolution;" documents since TROTSKY's death; and the opinions of "our opponents." The question of methodology would be stressed in the study of these subjects.
3. The history of the Negro struggle in America, a course to be given by "Comrade [redacted]." (In the material furnished by [redacted], it is noted that the name WALLACE was originally typed in but crossed out with pencil and [redacted] substituted.)
4. A course in public speaking and labor journalism.

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[redacted] further stated that since many students felt that methodology was so important and should be introduced at the very beginning, he had written to [redacted] to ask if he could come at the beginning of the school.

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[redacted] further set forth that since there was some thought of holding a plenum at the beginning of the course, [redacted] could attend the plenum and also participate in the organization of the TROTSKY school and give a course in Methodology.

Later information coming to the attention of the NYO, reflects that the proposed plenum of the SWP actually was later scheduled for 1/24, 25 and 26/58.

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The Political Committee voted to accept the proposals of the Secretariat as outlined above, and a discussion on the matter followed.

WALLACE stated that he felt that there was a danger that the study of Capital would take up too much time and suggested that it be eliminated or introduced later so it would not become the sole subject.

[redacted] said he felt that with the problem of personnel, the school was the best that they could have, but he preferred a school where the study of Capital was the main thing.

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Following this, [redacted] explained that the recommendations of the Secretariat were tentative and made with the understanding that the instructor and students would have something to say on the actual curriculum and final determination.

The second item on the agenda according to the material furnished by [redacted] was a report by [redacted] on the American Forum. [redacted] discussed the report after it was concluded and upon a motion by [redacted] the report was accepted by the Political Committee.

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The third item on the agenda concerned a letter by [redacted] and it was proposed by the Secretariat that a statement by [redacted] be appended to the minutes and sent to the National Committee members as part of the discussion on work in the Stalinist milieu.

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The discussion that followed was participated in by [redacted] and [redacted].

A statement by [redacted] was set forth as, "[redacted] [redacted] said the SWP should drop dead."

The minutes contained no elaboration of this statement.

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[] then reported that a memorandum report would be prepared in the near future in regard to the CP work, and the proposal of the Secretariat was accepted.

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Following this, the meeting was adjourned.

In regard to item two on the agenda as set forth above, [] furnished SA [] on 11/20/57, a portion of the report on the American Forum, which was to be attached to the minutes of Club Executive Number 17. (located in 100-4013-1A2054).

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A verbatim copy of the material furnished by [] on 11/20/57, is set forth as follows:

"TRANSCRIPT OF REPORT ON AMERICAN FORUM

"At Club Exec. Meeting No. 17, October 11, 1957

"The American Forum can be evaluated up to date as not having played any real role at all in the actual promotion of political debate in the regroupment shake-up. The only affair it has held here in New York was the meeting last summer to protest the Eastland Committee attack on the Forum. No local committees of the Forum have as yet really gotten into motion outside New York. There are still some possibilities the Forum can play a certain role in the regroupment discussions but the possibilities appear limited. It is also a fact, however, that our direct association with the diverse elements that constitute the national working committee of the Forum here in New York has been useful. It helped us to get a feel of political trends in the various areas, particularly the internal situation in the CP and its influence on the elements from the traditional Stalinist periphery.

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"If the Forum could have been put into motion soon after it was initiated last spring it could have played a useful role. Two factors substantially conditioned the delay in its development and both remain operative today, limiting future prospects for the Forum. The Stalinists have wanted to avoid debate with the SWP and in general hope to use the set-up as an instrument to promote the respectability of the CP. Other key elements on the working committee have sought to avoid serving as instruments to promote the respectability of the CP but at the same time they too have wanted to avoid a situation in which the discussion sponsored by the Forum would be essentially a political confrontation between the Stalinists and the Trotskyists. In trying to avoid the latter involvement they have tended to fall into support of the Stalinist aim.

This circumstance has not arisen through any insistence on our part that the political debates be straight SWP-CP confrontations. We have been perfectly willing to participate in broader discussions. We insist only on our right to be included and that the CP have the same right which we urge them to exercise. Actually this is understood by those who lend themselves to the CP policy on the Forum. They are motivated by the realization that in general, no matter who else may participate, the real debate focuses on the SWP and CP positions.

"Across the long hours of discussion in the working committee certain aspects of the shifts in Stalinist line, following from the evolution of the internal situation, have been reflected in the changing CP attitude toward the Forum. At the outset it appeared that the Stalinist line -- then shaped by the Gatesites with the acquiescence of the Dennis grouping, with Foster having no alternative at the moment but to go along -- the line then was to reject any straight

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"party-to-party debate or any joint action between the SWP and the CP, but they would accept debate in which the SWP participated provided there were other elements on the platform to give it what the CP called a 'broad character'. This line was steadily shifted until now it has become one of doing everything in their power to prevent the Forum from becoming a medium for debate between the CP and the SWP, and to convert it into an instrument serving essentially to promote the respectability of the CP. They undertake this by the device of trying to dress up the Forum's organizational structure and its public affairs with all kinds of 'respectable' figures -- the farther to the right they are the better. In the process they hope to choke off any possibility of a real political discussion.

"Concretely this process has taken form through the prolonged discussion over the organization of a public symposium here in New York. It was conceived early last summer and it is now finally scheduled for the early part of December. It was"

In regard to the individuals named in the minutes of the Club Executive as furnished by [redacted] it is noted that code names are used and identification has been made of those names as set forth in dissemination listing of instant letter.

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If the material furnished by [redacted] as disseminated in instant letter is utilized in a report, the exact nature of the material furnished should be suitably covered.

CB
1/11

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C42) (#12-15) DATE: 1/9/58
FROM : SA [redacted] (#19)
SUBJECT : NY COUNTY CP
IS-C

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
Description of info: NY County CP Committee meeting, 12/19/57
Date Received: 12/27/57
Received By: SA [redacted] (written)
Original Located: [redacted]

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Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - [redacted] (CIFU) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-26603 (NY STATE CP) (#19-2)
- 1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-80640 (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-54555 ([redacted]) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-132282 ([redacted]) (#1-215)
- 1 - NY 100-82206 ([redacted]) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-56835 ([redacted]) (#12-)
- 1 - NY 100-86066 ([redacted]) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-83013 ([redacted]) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-81767 ([redacted]) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] LNU, Mbr. of GREEK Section, NY County CP.) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-132332 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-66715 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-9369 (TED BASSETT) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-91911 (JESSE GRAY) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-67234 [redacted] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-111666 (JACK SHULMAN) (#12-15)

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- 1 - NY 100-26603-C42 (#12-15)

DR:RCM
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[Handwritten signatures and initials]
100-95583-446

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- 1 - NY 100-79025 () (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-84257 () (#12-15) b6
- 1 - NY 100-55621 () (#12-14) b7C
- 1 - NY 100-120215 () (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-84993 () (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100- (UNKNOWN SUBJECT, W,M, mbr. of "National Group" who attended NY County CP Committee meeting, 12/19/57, per () (#12-15))
- 1 - NY 100- (UNKNOWN SUBJECT, F,W, 35, black hair, 5'3", 120 lbs.-no glasses, attended NY County CP Committee meeting, 12/19/57, per () (#12-15)) b7D
- 1 - NY 100- (UNKNOWN SUBJECT, W,F,60, 5'2", 115 lbs., attended NY County CP Committee meeting on 12/19/57, per () (#12-15)) b6
b7C
- 1 - NY 100-7876 () (#12-13)
- 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-80641 (CP, USA ORGANIZATION) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C612 (PROFESSIONAL SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA FACTIONALISM) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-128814 (CP, DIST. #2, ORGANIZATION) (#19-2)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1214 (HARLEM SECTION, NY COUNTY CP) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-20649 (ED STRONG) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-26776 () (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-101814 () (#12-14) b6
b7C
- 1 - NY 100-228 () (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-81752 (CP, USA COMPROS) (#7-2)

New York County Committee, CP (en-
larged meeting)
"Morningstar Lodge" -Central Plaza Annex
Thursday, 12/19/57, 8:30-11:30 p.m.

Present: Jim Jackson ([redacted] introduced as "Negro Affairs
Secretary of our Party"),
[redacted] Paul Robeson, Jr., [redacted] LNU (Wash.
Hts.), [redacted]
[redacted] LNU (Greek
Section), [redacted] LNU (Professional), [redacted]
Ted Bassett, Jesse Gray, [redacted] and husband,
[redacted] LNU ([redacted]), [redacted]
[redacted] LNU, NU (male,
"National group"), NU (female, white, 35 years
old, black hair, no glasses, 5'3", 120 lbs.),
NU (female, 60 yrs. old, 5'2", 115 lbs.)
Pauline Royce.

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Paul Robeson, Jr. was elected chairman. The entire
agenda was devoted to a report by James Jackson on the 12-
party document, followed by discussion.

Jackson: The document represents people's governments
ruling 900 million people. It is a most important docu-
ment. Socialist parties in other countries will examine
it and assess it and in their own way define their attitudes
toward it. It is on this premise that we inquire into
the merits of this declaration.

The document first makes an assessment of the world
situation as between the forces led by the working
people, representing human progress, and the forces
of imperialism, reaction and backward social forces in
the world. They assess the war danger in the world. They
come to the conclusion that the forces for social progress
are not only stronger and more united than ever before,
but that the conditions are ripe in the world for their
further growth and consolidation, and put in the forefront
of social progress the bloc of socialist countries, which
have special bonds uniting them, which represent the
strong bastion from which the rest of the progressive
forces of the world can take strength and can look for all
manner of assistance. They point out that the world

can take strength and can look for all manner of assistance. They point out that the world communist movement is stronger and more unified than ever before, fortified in the first instance by the powerful strength of this bloc, embracing in excess of 800 million people, in which the communist parties are the leading governing parties. In addition, it indicates the scope and extent of the anti-imperialist movement of formerly colonial enslaved people. These forces represent increasingly a consciously allied force. Leaders of the progressive forces, headed by the Soviet Union, the most powerful of all these countries, associate all the working peoples and pro-peace, anti-imperialist forces within the capitalist countries. It links together the socialist countries in a bloc and shows the relationship of these countries to the colonial liberation forces of Africa and Latin America, and also shows the association with this bloc of the workers who have greater organized bodies than ever before in the capitalist countries of the world.

Elsewhere it indicates the progress toward consolidation and strengthening of the world communist movement, the vanguard progressive force. It proclaims with assurance that the conditions exist for the balance of forces on the side of the socialist, democratic and freedom-loving people of the world, led by the workers of the world, to arrest the course of imperialism, both in its war drive, and to effect radical reforms in a whole number of countries and situations, and to lay wide the avenue to the further growth of the world camp of socialism, within the socialist countries and in widening circles everywhere.

Further, it reaffirmed certain merit of Marxism-Leninism as the only victorious science of social change, which can in the present and future be relied upon as a compass to guide the struggles of the working class and the unfree in each country and on a world scale. The document restates certain fundamentals about Marxism-Leninism as the guiding philosophy and the exclusive social science which has been the creation of the world working class. It

warns against dogmatism and sectarianism, and against dissipating and ruining the science at the hands of the revisionists and those who retreat before the pressures of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. It points out that Marxism-Leninism represents in its very essence the law of motion and growth and development, movement, and consequently it has built in it the capacities and the necessities constantly renewing itself, and so can't be categorized, as is being done by the revisionists, as having no more usefulness. It is not outmoded. This was singled out for specialized treatment in the document. Capitalism, when confronted by the great strength of the socialist world, cannot just deny its existence, so tries to discredit it. They try to find a way to smear and minimize that which distinguishes Marxism, a sense of conscious influence in directing events, the sense of conscious leadership to change the world. In a very succinct, brilliant paragraph, probably from the hand of Mao Tse Tung (it has Mao's hand-print on it), there is a section dealing with what is Marxism, which discusses historical materialism as the main label and identification of Marxism and its contribution to the progress of the world working class. This declaration underscores and reaffirms certain fundamental laws that Marxism-Leninism is the foundation of, laws of social progress, laws governing the path that the workers must tread to achieve liberation and freedom as a class, in each country and on a world scale. So they reassert certain propositions which are universal laws of communism. Among them are: the dictatorship of the proletariat--a precise and definite scientific definition. It doesn't mean that one necessarily puts in the identifying words in every speech and document---but the concept is a scientific term meaning the rule of the working class, that there is no way to socialism without fighting for the establishment of the working class as the leading class in society, and that the working class must be secured as the leading dominant ruling class in a socialist society, that in all countries that take the path to socialism, they must first be concerned with this. This is significant, now because there is much speculation as to what kind of a government exists in China, for example. Is it the rule

of the working class or the peasantry; or what kind of a government is there in Poland, in which the largest sector of the population is rural? A party of peasants share power in a certain proportion in the government. There is much discussion as to whether the dominant position for the working class in the government is still valid in all countries. The conclusion, joined in by China, Poland, and all the leading Marxists, reaffirm that a cardinal fundamental of Marxism-Leninism is the fight for what we call the hegemony of the working class in the struggles leading to socialism and the leadership of the working class in a worker-farmer (or worker-peasant) government. Lenin called the dictatorship of the proletariat an alliance of working people, but an alliance of a special kind, in which the working class has a leading position. This remains valid and is very important for us, where we have a situation growing in our population in which the working class proportion to the whole population is in a sense diminishing, and the people engaged in service occupations growing, while the proletarian sections of the working people are shrinking, due to automation, etc. They reaffirm that, even here, the working class must have the leading place in society and in the formation of the socialist government.

Another point is the necessity of maintaining a continuing struggle for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communists and workers parties---a struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism, and against revisionism and opportunism. The declaration singles out the fact that on the world scene the revisionism has become the central danger to the growth and development, not only of the socialist countries, but to the communist and workers movement on a world scale. It adds, however, that each communist party must examine the situation in its own country as to whether or not revisionism is the central danger.

These are some of the features of this declaration. What is required of us? In my opinion, it is necessary to appraise and estimate the significance of this declaration. I think it is one of the historic documents of communism. It is a manifesto of great significance, not only because

of the source, but the time and circumstances in which it is projected. For example, it estimates the war danger and identifies the source of the war danger and says it will exist as long as imperialism exists, but it points out that the growth of the damp of socialism, democracy and peace indicates that it is possible to prevent the outbreak of war--but that it is not an automatic consequence. It can be achieved only if communists all over the world make the struggle for peace a central and dominant activity and with emphasis on the question of struggle for peace . We must identify and agree upon from what center does the war danger stem---and it asserts that the center in the whole world is the circle of monopoly capitalism within the U.S., trying to enmesh the whole American people into various adventures, and to seduce the sovereign peoples of the other capitalist countries to carry out their bidding for domination and aggressive adventures. Therefore the estimate of the nature of American imperialism is inherent in this document, which comes into conflict with many views, some of which are even in our own Party, which would not represent American imperialism as the central force in fomenting the war danger.

These are some of the elements of this delcaration, although there are many more. Especially important, finally, is the new quality of emphasis placed upon the special bonds between the anti-imperialist colonial movements and the strategic objective of securing socialism and working class liberation in all the capitalist countries of the world, the new quality of emphasis in this . document on the anti-imperialist colonial movement. The NAC of the CP two or three weeks ago addressed itself to this document with the end in view of not offering an ednorsement of it, which is not asked for, or is of particular usefulness, but sought to express an editorial comment on it. Does it have meaning for us? Can it help solve some of the confusion which exists in our own party? Should we compare it with the 20th Congress document? Or is it just an expression by some communist leaders? Two meetings of the NAC had some discussion,

but unfortunately, despite Dennis' excellent report, the whole discussion took place on procedural matters, whether or not the NAC would be going beyond its authority to express an attitude on the document, while inviting the Party to study it. A vote was taken and 4 of the 7 identified themselves with the view that it is important that the NAC should, especially in light of the fact that the leading commentators of the capitalist press have expressed an attitude even though they must represent it as the beginning of the establishment of Kremlin domination over the world movement, and in view of the fact that it declares that a peaceful road to socialism is possible, should make some comment. It takes away any equivocation on the question of peace, versus force and violence. The majority issued the statement that some of us have already, and we feel that it is a necessary and fair introduction of this declaration to the Party membership, not to prejudge what the NC will say, or the Party membership will make out of the 12-party declaration---and certainly, not as the minority of the NAC have asserted, that we are seeking to substitute this important declaration for the necessary work that still remains for us in our Party, that is the preparation of the American program and the skillful application of Marxist principles to the development of that program. One of the sources of this division in the committee is the fact that some comrades simply do not agree with the estimate, though that is not required on every point. Secondly, because some contend that the estimate runs counter to the mandate of the 16th Convention. This is based, in my opinion, on a false estimate of what the mandate called for. Any theory has a certain body of universal valid truths. A scientific theory has certain general universal propositions. Marxism-Leninism is a growing theory, growing on the basis of the unfolding of certain laws. No theory can begin, like Adam and Eve, from the beginning---but some comrades interpret the mandate as meaning we start from nothing, and that we must begin anew the whole theory. This is rather ridiculous. Why do they want to indulge in this

in this kind of exercise? Some doubt the need for the Party. Some ask if perhaps socialism isn't the inevitable way out. Some want to just take the next step, without worrying about the destination. This confusion has its impact in the Party. One of our tasks is to debate and discuss with these people, and try to clarify things for those who are confused.

- - - - -

Jesse Gray: I welcome Comrade Jackson's remarks, and am pleased to have him here. In the last three months, some of the most exciting and dramatic demonstrations imaginable have taken place, especially the meeting of 60 representative parties, including 12 socialist states. Many communists feel we should adopt the declaration. Too many in our Party are afraid to identify themselves with the international socialist movement. Others feel we should ally ourselves with the world working class, and I don't see anyone else to ally myself with. What the right section of our Party fears most of all is not being considered clean and respectable by the bourgeoisie. Today we don't have enough hatred for the bourgeoisie. The document states that there is a law governing Marxism-Leninism---the working class must be the driving party in leading the working class into power. Once we had a tremendous propaganda machine, and it attacked the bourgeoisie. Now they are on the offensive with their propaganda. We have to find a way to wrest the offensive from them. There is also a feeling that we must support the war aspirations of this country, in order to keep a certain economic stability. This is wrong. We must tackle the question of peace. We must come head-on with the bourgeoisie by attacking their war policy.

Martha: The document is clarity in itself. Party Affairs isn't so clear as the document itself. I would be interested to know, in the NAC's debate---2 were against and one was absent, but registered his opposition. I would like to know the basis for the

opposition. In my group, in discussing the North California resolution, they agreed that the important thing is that the Party must come forth with a program, and they did not want any diversions. There must be an end to the divisions within the leadership. They don't have to believe in a Party, but they shouldn't be in the NAC if they don't. Peace is the most important issue. No country, even the U.S., can wage an aggressive war if it is opposed by the entire labor movement. We must convince the labor movement of the need to fight for peace. NATO was an important meeting---our "allies" decided against having bases. They are beginning to understand the situation. Things are not as glorious as the commercial press would like us to believe.

Shevra: Are there people on the NAC who doubt that the source of the war danger is in the U.S.? Why don't we have a new members' class for the National Committee? This document is unique because it singles out the subject of dialectical materialism. We should apply ourselves to this thing. A State leader invited my husband to a study circle on Strachey's Contemporary Capitalism. Naturally, he turned it down.

Jackson: Comrade James Allen made a report to the previous NAC meeting---see his article in Political Affairs, this month. The objection to the report, although it was subsequently endorsed unanimously, was on the estimate of the role of the Soviet Union in signaling an acute war danger and frustrated by the exposure of the intrigue in the Middle East in reference to Syria. Blake and Stein argued: Can we say that everything is as it seems when we are dealing with big power countries? Isn't it a matter of propaganda pressure to facilitate and enhance the penetration of the Soviet Union into the Middle East to consolidate its relations with Syria, so isn't a war danger in connection with Turkey a hoax? It has been asserted, too, that the road to independence for our Party, to get full legal status and acceptance, is more important than making

statements about the document. The key is to establish our independence by a divorcement from practices and thoughts of the world Marxism movement in general, and the Soviet Union in particular. This was the thesis of Comrade Clark, and in my opinion it remains the thesis of Comrade Gates.

Joe Bell: What did Jackson mean by "foreign communists"? Are we operating completely separate from the world movement? We judge it on its merits, not on its origin. The DW is constantly quoted in the Times, and this hurts us. The question of independence has been used merely to achieve a certain respectability.

Marcia: What is the opposition?

Paul, Jr.: There were two reports at the State Committee, one by Thompson, which was adopted, and one by George Watt. I suggest that Evie report on these.

Evie: In relation to the document; (1) It is a source of great joy to the Communist movement to see the tremendous unity that have been forged in one year after Hungary and Poland. It is a testimony to the strength and vitality of socialism. (2) It is confirmation of the analysis of the 12-party document--- compare it with NATO. (3) The NAC could make a real contribution, as per Martha's previous suggestion, by getting out a peace manifesto for the U.S. Jobs and peace are not incompatible.

On the State Committee meeting: There were two reports, dealing with two approaches: Thompson's report was basically similar to Jackson's report here tonight. George Watt's report was different in approach: He took issue with the question of the basic laws---said it is not a dictate for the party; He differs with the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said in England, for example, there is possibility of many parties. He is critical of the document because it did not discuss

democratic socialism (implying that socialism is not democratic---a concept used by Trotzkyites and others). He did not like the way socialist-communist unity was discussed in the document. The Gates forces want an ideological front, but don't propose an action front. He raised the question of why Yugoslavia did not participate. His report expressed some real danger to our party. What developed was a real unwillingness to fight revisionism and a refusal to recognize the existence of revisionism in our Party. The DW has had no article on revisionism since the 16th Convention. Max Gordon's article in the Sunday Worker was a complete attack on the role of the party and its relation to the people in the Soviet Union. The State Committee voted to endorse the NAC statement--28-11. I will propose action here at a later time.

Milly: William Randolph Hearst wrote articles on the Soviet Union. There were some truths that even he couldn't deny.

Ted Bassett: The rule of the working class is the most democratic rule that could exist. Max Gordon was wrong. The Soviet Union is not a dictatorship of the CP, but of the proletariat.

Alex: My opinion is the opinion of the Greek section. I think the leadership is split, and it is not the leadership needed by the American working class. I think we should give them a few months to catch up, and if they don't, they should go into a shop or mine to work. We fight, but we don't establish roots, as in other countries. I think we should have Gates and the others who dissent come to our next meeting. Some Greeks a couple of weeks ago wanted to go to the DW and fight with Gates. I fought hard to stop them, but I won't do it again.

Evie: I propose we ask Jim to bring back our feeling that we want a Party and we don't want revisionism to stand in our way. There is an NAC meeting tomorrow. Propose we endorse the State Committee letter (P. 2), and add two proposals:

- (1) That we endorse the State vote which was carried by 28-11.
County Committee Vote: 15 - 0 - 1 abst.

Vote of guests: 5 - 0 - 0 abst.

- (2) Propose we endorse the State Committee statement in relation to the real danger.
Committee Vote: 15 - 0 - 1 abst. (Ethel Newton)
- (3) Propose we study the situation and forward our opinions to the NC,
Unanimously carried.

Announcements - Evie

As of last week, Harlem led in registrations. The East Side and Upper East Side have done an outstanding job. The Village has done an excellent job.

We must fight to complete the Fund Drive. Very urgent,

There is literature here, because the stations haven't worked out well.

Sun., 12/29 - Freedom Dance - Harlem, for the educational fund for Ed Strong's children. \$10.00 a table. Celebrity Club, 217 W. 125th St., 7-12 p.m.

Birthday party for Charlie Dirba Jan. 24, 1957, Estonian Hall, 2061 Lexington Ave.

Next County Comm. meeting, Thursday, 1/2/58, 8:30, same place, same name.

Caucuses: Tenants-Tues., 1/14/58--Fran Goldin, 249 E. Broadway
Jewish Commission - Tues, 1/7/58 - June Gordon, 219 E. 12th St.
Peace - Fri., 1/10/58 - Lil Immerman - 98 Second Ave.

J.M.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO SAC, CHICAGO
FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-133479)
SUBJECT YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
IS-SOCIALIST

DATE: 1/10/58

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

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- 1-Chicago (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 1-Cleveland (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 1- [redacted] (19-2)
- 1-New York (100- [redacted]) (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-98816) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133195) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133468) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-131513) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-116594) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-111291) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-New York (100-129446) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1- [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133571) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133814) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-130702) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100- [redacted]) [redacted] (7-3) (or [redacted])
- 1-New York (100-121720) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-117355) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-130558) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133145) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-114584) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133519) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133542) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-127167) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-133197) [redacted] (7-3)
- 1-New York (105-14466) (Fund For the Republic) (1)
- 1-New York (100-81675) (CP, USA Pamphlets and Publications) (19-2)
- 1-New York (100-102687) (THEODORE DRAPER) (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA Line) (19)

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WJ
1-New York (100-133479)
EMA: rmv
(32)

100-95583-447
SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
JAN 13 1958
[redacted]

NY 100-133479

Description of Info	YSF, the Roots of American Communism, 11/29/57	
Date Received	12/6/57	
Received by	SA [redacted] (written)	b6 b7C b7D
Original located	[redacted]	

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

A copy of informant's report follows:

December 1st, 1957

TIME: 8:30 P.M. November 29, 1957

PLACE: Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

EVENT: The Young Socialist Forum sponsored By the YSA

TOPIC: "The Roots of American Communism" by Theodore Draper

SPEAKER: [redacted] b6
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ATTENDANCE: Approx. 50

NY 100-133479

It also received cadres from the I.W.W. The new C.P. had more life and "oompf" than the older movements. The left-wing of the Socialist Party was growing fast. It provide impetus for organization and regroupment. An then in 1919 came the purge. It was decided by the purgers that it is better to have two parties than one party that continually fights. In the beginning about 26,000 people were expelled. Within 6 months two thirds of the S.P. were suspended or expelled. This amounted to about 70,000 people. Most of these became members of the C.P. They were young and full of energy, this new cadre. They attached themselves to the Russian Revolution. They made many mistakes of ultra-leftism. For example, the C.P. told trolley car workers who were out on strike for higher wages, that the time had come to overthrow the government, and take over the B.R.T. (transit line) Their only hope (C.P.) was as legal American party, and not as an underground. The C.P. got some help in a strange way. The Palmer raids more than anything showed the C.P. it had to stay in the open. What caused the C.P.s present difficulties. When, in the early days of the C.P., a problem arose, the American C.P. would turn to Russia for advice. The party kept taking more and more advice from Russia until it became a mere appendage of the Russian C.P. Draper says this is wrong. But Draper is wrong here. The C.P. didn't know whether to go under or stay above ground. Russian intervention served to Americanize the C.P. Draper says they should not have accepted the advice. He is incorrect. It is correct for Socialism to be international, and this needs international advice, and the Russians were committed to the advance of Socialism. The problem later was the source of the advice (bureaucrats). A different tendency gave advice. At first it was collaboration. In its second phase, degeneration.

NY 100-133479

There was a certain psychology to this. The American C.P. thought the Russian Revolution was going to repeat itself around the world. This was not the fact. The post war boom in America had a very adverse effect for the C.P. But they could always say we have Russia as an example and the C.P. here start thinking of Russia rather than the United States. But those were the later years of the American C.P.

The early years were the best years of American Radicals.

The topic was turned over to the floor for discussion.

[redacted] [redacted] strayed from the subject, but while we are on it, Draper is closer to the truth. The C.P. should never have asked for advice. The C.P. tied its coat-tails to the revolution. It was a gamble. They lost. Their time has past.

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[redacted] Witch-hunting and anti-communism is on a world scale. Capitalism is on a world scale. So Socialism must be on a world scale. Why our pre-occupation with Russia. Their revolution was a success and so we can learn from them but not the bureaucracy. (Writers note: Before [redacted] spoke, some fellow said 'lets stick to America with our Socialism_)

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There was some more discussion, and then [redacted] [redacted] interrupted it in order to let [redacted] tell the story of his troubles in Cleveland. Mr. [redacted] said that he was one of eight people who had been indicted by the Justice Department on a conspiracy charges and

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NY 100-133479

violations of certain portions of the Taft Hatley Act. His particular overt act was "transporting a person known to be a Communist" He said that they might as well put all the bus drivers on trial for the same charge. In his work, continued [redacted] it was necessary to meet people from all walks of life and there could have been a Communist amongst them. He said at first the indictment against him was dropped but when he refused to play ball with the F.B.I. as a "professional witness" the indictment was reinstated.

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[redacted] was telling [redacted] and [redacted] how the F.B.I. had tried to get him at home and both times he was away. [redacted] told [redacted] about the time she thought [redacted] was from the F.B.I. or the "Red Squad". The subject was brought up by virtue of the fact that halfway through the evenings lecture two men entered the hall dressed quite well, wearing hats, professional looking. They passed the donation table and [redacted] called them back and pointed to the admission price on the sign. The older of the two reached into his pocket and disdainfully threw a five dollar bill down. After receiving change, with the lecture still in progress, the two of them walked over to the literature table and gave it the once over picking some up at random. By this time everyone in the room was feeling slightly uncomfortable. They asked [redacted] if [redacted] was the wife of [redacted] when she stood up to speak. As [redacted] passed by to get something they asked her if [redacted] was in the room. And later on after the lecture they asked [redacted] where [redacted] was. Then they stopped to talk with [redacted]. The older one was W-M-40 rugged looking-5'10-170 Lbs- the Younger one was W-M-26-5'11-165 Lbs- Collegiate looking.

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1/20/58

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C41)

DATE: 1/14/58

FROM: SA CHARLES D. SHORES (#12-13)

SUBJECT: QUEENS COUNTY CP
IS-C

Source

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past b7D

Location

- 1 - (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-103872) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-13527) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-128481) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-103907) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-121161) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-64505) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-65033) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-101687) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-96199) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-62774) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-71533) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-71535) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-95636) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-55806) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-) (Unsub; W, F, age 42, Organizer Jamaica Section) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-new) (Unsub; W, M, age 40-45, Organizer Clearview Section) (#12-13)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-128821) (Factionalism) (#19)
- ① - New York (100-95583) (Line) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-82062) ("Jewish Currents") (#7-2)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C41)

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CDS:mb
(23)

100-95583-448

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JAN 14 1958	
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NY 100-26603-C41

On 12/20/57, [redacted] furnished information regarding a Queens County CP Committee Meeting held 12/17/57. The information was reduced to writing on 12/23/57, and the informant initialed the written statement on 12/26/57.

b7D

The statement follows:

December 26, 1957

On December 17, 1957, a meeting of the Queens County Communist Party Committee was held at the meeting room of Allen and Edwards Real Estate office, 168-18 Liberty Ave., Queens, N.Y. The meeting started at about 8:30 PM and ended at approximately 11:45 PM.

The following Communist Party members attended this meeting:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] of East Queens
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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Unknown female, Jamaica Section organizer
Unknown male, Clearview Section organizer

The unknown female also attended the Committee meeting held Dec. 10, 1957.

NY 100-26603-041

The following is a description of the unknown male: white, height 5'8", weight 155, age 40-45, black bushy hair combed on side, slender face, sharp nose turned up at end, wore shoes with very thick soles having deep treads.

[redacted] acted as [redacted]. He announced that [redacted], who was scheduled to be the speaker, had another engagement and would not be able to attend and that William Weinstone would speak instead.

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Weinstone based his talk on an article appearing in the December 1957 issue of "Political Affairs" titled "Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries". This "declaration" was the result of a meeting by 12 Communist countries whose representatives met in Moscow, November 14-16, 1957.

Weinstone in his talk continually praised the Soviet Union and said the 12 Power Conference was a wonderful thing. He said that the Communist Party in each country would have to work out its own path to Socialism and in the United States this will be brought about by using trade unions.

Weinstone said that the Communist Party in the United States must advocate a dictatorship for the proleteriate.

Following Weinstone's talk a general discussion was held.

[redacted] and [redacted] disagreed with certain parts of the talk. [redacted] did not think the United States should have a dictatorship. [redacted] said the workers in the United States were much better off than are those in Russia but he said the Communist Party must be the vanguard of the working class.

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NY 100-26603-C41

[redacted] proposed two resolutions, to be passed by the Committee, as follows:

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1) Reject the decision of the National Committee of the Communist Party to accept the program laid down by the 12 power conference held in Moscow in November, 1957.

2) Reject the decision of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party to accept the program laid down by the 12 power conference held in Moscow in November, 1957.

These proposals started a wild fight among those present. [redacted] rejected the proposals. He said that proposals like this weakened the Party and that instead of disagreeing with leadership everyone should try to rebuild the Party.

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Most of those who spoke sided with [redacted] in the argument. [redacted] and [redacted] were both in favor of the resolutions. In the midst of the uproar [redacted] proposed that the meeting be adjourned but this was defeated.

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A vote on [redacted]'s resolutions was finally held and it was defeated 9 to 3 with not everyone voting. [redacted] and [redacted] voted for the resolutions.

After some more arguing [redacted] was allowed to speak for 5 minutes. He felt there should be a change of ideas in the Communist Party policy at the present time.

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The fight over the resolutions left a bitter feeling among those present.

NY 100-26603-C41

[redacted] announced that the publication "Jewish Life" will be now known as "Jewish Currents" and the first issue of the new publication will come out in January. He urged that each section place an ad in "Jewish Currents" to help the publication get started.

[redacted] announced the next committee meeting would be held January 7, 1950, at the meeting room located at 166-15 Jamaica Ave , Jamaica, NY.

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J.M.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, [redacted]

DATE: 1/15/58

b7D

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	12/29/57 Party at GEORGE MEYERS' home	12/30/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

b7D

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

- cc's:
- 1 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
 - 2 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
100-20644 [redacted]
65-1131 CASEY GUREWITZ
 - 1 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)
HYMAN LUMER
 - 2 - Newark (REGISTERED MAIL)
[redacted]

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N.M.
112

100-95583-449

SEARCHED <i>[initials]</i>	INDEXED <i>[initials]</i>
SERIALIZED <i>[initials]</i>	FILED <i>[initials]</i>
JAN 20 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted] (Mrs. [redacted])

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES

RCN
RCN:sm
(51)

BALTIMORE, MD.	
JAN. 15, 1958	
	<i>[initials]</i>

[Handwritten signature]

[Redacted]

cc: s:
10 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
EUGENE DENNIS
JOHN GATES

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[Redacted]

BEN DAVIS
JAMES JACKSON
FAC-TIONALISM
CP LINE
BRIEF
DAILY WORKER

35 - Baltimore

100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS
100-10584 [Redacted]
100-17509 [Redacted]
100-12425 [Redacted]
100-13646 [Redacted]
100-13563 CASEY GUREWITZ
100-20176 [Redacted]
100-11953 [Redacted]
100-12146 [Redacted]
100-12173 [Redacted]
100-12266 [Redacted]
100-8422 [Redacted]
100-8552 [Redacted]
100-10995 [Redacted]
100-1708 [Redacted]
100-1611 [Redacted]
100-11031 [Redacted]
100-13450 [Redacted]
100-8306 [Redacted]
100-12412 [Redacted]
100-8619 [Redacted]
100-9665 [Redacted]
100-10013 [Redacted]
100-1639 [Redacted]
100-12203 [Redacted]
100-10975 [Redacted]
100-11386 [Redacted]
100-12125 PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
100-12456 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
100-12510 STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
100-13098 CP LINE
100-11800 BRIEF
100-17820 HCUA
100-4267 COMINFIL USA-CIO

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[Redacted]

[redacted]

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" Baltimore, Maryland
December 30, 1957

The following concerns a social affair which took place at the home of GEORGE MEYERS on December 29, 1957. GEORGE MEYERS is the Acting Chairman for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C.

[redacted] and his wife, [redacted] arrived at MEYERS' home at about 8:20 PM and were greeted by [redacted].

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In the dining room the [redacted] met [redacted] and her husband who live in Washington, D. C., and their two sons. They said that they had just returned from Philadelphia. Also in the dining room were [redacted] and his wife; GEORGE MEYERS' father-in-law and GEORGE MEYERS' daughter, who is about 14 or 15 years of age. [redacted] said GEORGE MEYERS was getting dressed.

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People arrived during the evening as follows:

[redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] 's daughter and son-in-law.

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As [redacted] came in, he brought with him a small brown box containing 40 copies of the December, 1957, issue of Political Affairs, which he placed in a back room of the MEYERS' home.

After a social conversation following the arrival of the [redacted]s, MEYERS waved to [redacted] and invited him to one of the back bedrooms. MEYERS told [redacted] that he had sent a letter to EUGENE DENNIS on December 17th which he wanted [redacted] to read. This letter in brief indicated MEYERS supported the Declaration of the 12 Socialist Countries.

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MEYERS then showed [redacted] a letter which he had sent to EUGENE DENNIS on December 28, 1957, which expressed

[REDACTED] b7D

MEYERS' feelings about the current situation in the CP as follows:

- (1) MEYERS approved the action of the National Executive Committee in removing JOHN GATES from all responsibility insofar as the Daily Worker and Worker were concerned.
- (2) MEYERS indicated that he had supported the Soviet Union in the past and would continue to support the Soviet Union on the question of an International Workers Party.
- (3) MEYERS felt that the national CP leaders should come to a decision concerning continuation of the CP or definitely decide to dissolve the CP and pointed out that dissension was destroying the Party.

[REDACTED] then asked whether the National Executive Committee had actually removed GATES from his Daily Worker responsibilities.

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MEYERS then said that The Sunday Worker of December 29, 1957, Page 2, had a small article with regard to the Executive Committee's attitude toward GATES but that article did not give the whole picture and merely showed that the Committee had taken some action with regard to GATES.

MEYERS then said that he had tried to contact EUGENE DENNIS in New York right after the National Executive Committee meetings of December 20th and 21st but was unable to do so because DENNIS had a new telephone number. MEYERS said that DENNIS finally called MEYERS during the night of December 25th and had told MEYERS that the National Executive Committee had removed GATES from all responsibility insofar as The Worker and Daily Worker were concerned because GATES had made unauthorized statements to the press.

MEYERS then said that EUGENE DENNIS had told him that during the National Executive Committee meetings of December 20th and 21st, [REDACTED] BEN DAVIS, HYMAN LUMER, JAMES JACKSON and EUGENE DENNIS had voted

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[REDACTED] b7D

for endorsement of the Declaration of the 12 Socialist Countries, and that DENNIS had further advised that two other people had also voted that way.

MEYERS said that DENNIS made it clear that all those who had attended the National Executive Committee meetings had voted in favor of removing GATES from his responsibilities toward The Worker and Daily Worker.

MEYERS said that DENNIS had told him that persons at the recent National Executive Committee meetings had pointed out that if the CP openly accepted the Declaration of the 12 Socialist Countries, the United States Government could state that the CP was foreign dominated. MEYERS said that DENNIS had told MEYERS not to worry about this particular point and that the most important thing achieved was the removal of GATES.

MEYERS said that DENNIS had declared that it was not too important to censure those at the National Executive Committee meetings who had voted against endorsement of the Declaration of the 12 Socialist Countries since these people had voted against GATES on the question of The Worker. MEYERS said that DENNIS had pointed out in any event the endorsement of the Declaration of the 12 Socialist Countries would be finally determined at the National Committee meeting of the CP which would be held in February with 60 members present. DENNIS felt that the CP in its present form was supported by the majority of the 60 people.

MEYERS commented that [REDACTED] had called over for information regarding the Philadelphia meeting, and [REDACTED] also stated that [REDACTED] had called him a couple of times. MEYERS thought this was because [REDACTED] wanted definite information on the date of the meeting.

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MEYERS then said that the January 5, 1958, meeting of the Regional Directors of Labor of the CP had been postponed, and MEYERS said he understood that EUGENE DENNIS had changed the date to sometime in late January or early February. MEYERS then said it was his opinion that with the factionalism in New York, nothing could be accomplished until the February

[redacted] b7D

National Committee meeting.

[redacted] then asked what had happened to the California letter which spoke out in favor of GATES' views.

MEYERS said he had no information from EUGENE DENNIS as to that discussion, but that as soon as the National Executive Committee report had been made up it would be forwarded to MEYERS. MEYERS said he had asked DENNIS to send several copies.

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At this point [redacted] interrupted the discussion between MEYERS and [redacted].

MEYERS told his wife that [redacted] supported his views and that he felt good about it.

[redacted] then stated that "we" want an International Working Party, and that she did not see how any true working class party member could object to MEYERS' statements as set forth in his letters to EUGENE DENNIS of December 17th and 28th nor could she see how they could object to the Declaration of the 12 Socialist Countries. [redacted] then thanked [redacted] for supporting her husband.

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MEYERS and [redacted] then returned to the gathering.

[redacted] asked [redacted] about [redacted]'s contacts with [redacted] and [redacted] then explained the situation.

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[redacted] said that was very satisfactory and that he had met [redacted] by accident recently and had obtained his address.

[redacted] then told [redacted] that he had his job back which he had lost after the May, 1957, House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings because [redacted]'s name had come up in the newspapers at that time.

[redacted] told [redacted] that the company had called him back recently and that he had talked with company officials and given them a lot of "double talk" and by this means regained his job.

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[redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted] then discussed the situation in steel.

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[redacted] in referring to the results of the HCUA hearings of May, 1957, asked [redacted] whether there was a difference in the effect of the 1951 and 1957 HCUA hearings.

[redacted] replied that in 1951 the Government received more information on the Party because they had an informant in a high position in the CP at that time. [redacted] said, however, that in 1957 there was more pressure on those called because of the television cameras. [redacted] said the information obtained was not important and that the real pressure had come from the television.

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Towards the close of the evening, [redacted] asked MEYERS how he felt about the turnout for MEYERS' party. MEYERS replied that he was quite impressed although several that he had invited had not shown up. MEYERS said that he had invited [redacted] but knows that she is ill. He said [redacted] and her family had made previous arrangements. MEYERS said, however, that [redacted] had not arrived and had given no reason for her failure to attend.

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MEYERS then asked [redacted] when he thought the next District Board meeting should be held and [redacted] replied after the first of the year.

MEYERS then said that he would like to get the District Board and District Committee together. He said he felt as though [redacted] and [redacted] approved the Declaration of the 12 Socialist Countries, but that [redacted] was on the fence. MEYERS said that this Declaration should be discussed so he could prepare material on that point for a broad discussion among rank and file CP members.

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MEYERS then said that he did not want the [redacted] to leave too early since he expected [redacted] and [redacted] could drive them home.

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At 11:30 PM, [redacted] called the MEYERS residence

[REDACTED] b7D

and said he could not make it since he had just gotten off work and was tired.

MEYERS then made arrangements for [REDACTED] to drive the [REDACTED] to their residence, and at 11:45 PM, [REDACTED] drove DOROTHY and [REDACTED] to their home."

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate.

[REDACTED] father is [REDACTED]. A copy of this report is, therefore, being routed to his file.

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Mrs. [REDACTED]s daughter and son-in-law referred to in report are [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. They now reside in New Jersey.

The people referred to in report as [REDACTED] and her husband from Washington, D. C., are [REDACTED] and CASEY [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] has previously identified them through photographs.

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NF

Jdm

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-4)

DATE: 1/20/58

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-2349)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS-C

OO: NEW YORK

On January 3, 1958, [redacted] furnished the following report to SA ROBERT E. MARGISON concerning the December 13-14, 1957, meeting of the State Committee of the New York State Communist Party. This informant has furnished reliable information in the past and his report is filed in [redacted]

b7D

CC: 2 - Bureau (100-3-4)(RM)
 2 - New York (100-26603)(RM)
 2 - New York (100-128814)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-12481)(RM) ([redacted])
 1 - New York (100-127918) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-129629)(19-2)(WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-24638)(ABNER BERRY)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-9984)(ALBERT BLUMBERG)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-50094) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-50806)(12-8)(GEORGE CHARNEY)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-93651) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-60640) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-56)(7-2)(MICHAEL DAVIDOW)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-23825)(19)(BEN DAVIS, JR.)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-49149) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-13473)(19-1)(SI GERSON)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-95789) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-467)(19-2) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-99369)(19) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-85936)(19) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-10113) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-[redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-52959)(20-11) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-81794) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-13206)(7-1) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-84275)(19-2)(WILLIAM PATTERSON)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-67670) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-105448) ([redacted])(RM)
 1 - New York (100-9550)(12-16)(PAUL ROBESON)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-13336) ([redacted])(RM)

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REM:bmc
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FBI - NEW YORK	

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AL 100-2349

AL COPIES REGISTERED MAIL

- CC: 1 - New York (100-13527)(12-13) ()
1 - New York (100-20)(12-14)(MORRIS SCHAPPES)
1 - New York (100-9375)(12-10) ()
1 - New York (100-86971) ()
1 - New York (100-79937)(12-11) () b6
1 - New York (100-92572) () b7C
1 - New York (100-18673) ()
1 - New York (100-54555) ()
1 - New York (100-9595)(20-13)(WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
1 - New York (MAX WEISS)
1 - New York (100-Industrial Board, CP, NYS)
1 - New York (100-STEVE NELSON)
1 - New York (100-UNSUB. () Attendant NYS CP State Committee Meeting, December 13-14, 1957)
1 - New York (100-UNSUB. () Negro Woman, Attendant NYS CP State Committee Meeting, December 13-14, 1957)
1 - New York (100-White Woman, Attendant NYS CP State Committee Meeting, December 13-14, 1957) b6
1 - New York (100- ()) b7C
1 - New York (100- ())
1 - New York (100-62509)(12-11)(DOXEY WILKERSON)
1 - New York (100-LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
1 - New York (100-National Committee Member from Printer's)
1 - New York (100-79717)(Political Activities)
1 - New York (100-Factionalism)
1 - New York (100-80640)(Negro Question)
1 - New York (100-National Group Commissions)
1 - New York (100-International Relations)
1 - New York (Brief to Establish Illegal Status)
1 - New York (100-Party Line)
1 - New York (100-96985)(STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
2 - Buffalo (100-4379)
1 - Buffalo (100-11963) ()
1 - Buffalo (100-Buffalo Representative to the National Committee)
1 - Albany (100-2349)
1 - Albany (100-8984) () b6
1 - () b7C

On Friday night, December 13, 1957, and all day Saturday December 14, 1957, the State Committee of the New York State Communist Party met at Adelphi Hall in New York City. A mimeographed statement was distributed, signed by [redacted] (who is [redacted]), stating that "The Board of the Progressive Party Forum proposes to simplify the agenda for the State Committee meeting. The Board feels that our State Committee should adopt a statement on the 1957 elections. It also feels that our State Committee should discuss the Twelve Party Resolution." The agenda announced was:

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Friday at 7:30 a.m.	"Election Statement"
Saturday, 10:00 a.m.	"1. Discussion-Twelve Party Statement
	"2. Election of Three Members to NC to fill vacancies
	"3. Progress and information report on Negro--TU Conferences."

The following individuals attended one or both of these sessions:

[redacted]
[redacted]
BILL ALBERTSON
ABNER BERRY
ALBERT BLUMBERG

[redacted]
GEORGE CHARNEY

[redacted]
MIKE DAVIDOW
BEN DAVIS, JR.

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[redacted]
SI GERSON
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]

BILL PATTERSON

[redacted]
[redacted]

PAUL ROBESON

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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BILL WEINSTONE
MAX WEISS
STEVE NELSON

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

NEGRO WOMAN, [redacted]
WHITE WOMAN

The last two women, whom I have not seen before, were each in company with [redacted] at the Saturday session only. They are all from the same Section, as is [redacted]. [redacted] has been seen by me at previous Party functions, although I do not know him. [redacted] is a short, chunky, white, Jewish male in his 40's. The Negro woman, [redacted] is medium build, dark complexion, and in her early 30's. The white woman is approximately 5'3", medium build, early 30's, brunette, in boyish bob.

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[redacted] was an alternate delegate from [redacted]'s Section and came because there was some question as to whether [redacted] would be able to attend. When [redacted] did show up, she had the vote and [redacted] as alternate, did not vote at the meeting.

I arrived a little late to the Friday night session and BILL PATTERSON was presiding. AL BLUMBERG had the floor and was discussing the election report. The basis for this discussion was a thirteen page mimeographed report captioned "Material on the New York Elections of 1957," by GEORGE B. CHARNEY. It was distributed with a cover memorandum addressed "Dear Comrades" and noting that this material was prepared by Comrade CHARNEY as a basis for discussion at the State Committee, and commenting that Comrades should prepare to participate in the discussion. This memorandum noted that the FLYNN campaign is not discussed in this document because the State Board agreed that the extent of this campaign would be discussed on the basis of motions introduced at the State Committee. This material covered the results, the main factors involved and an estimate of 1957 elections. It analyzed the independent movements in connection with the Left Movement and outlined the role of the Communist Party in the elections. The immediate perspective was also outlined.

BLUMBERG is apparently a middle of the roader and his comments approved the FLYNN campaign.

He was followed by a group of speakers from the floor, including SY GERSON, MAX GORDON and GEORGE CHARNEY, who represent the Right Wing of the Party. They indicated some indecision about the merits of the FLYNN campaign and indicated that perhaps the Party should not have run a Party candidate even under the label of another political organization, but should have concentrated its support on Puerto Rican and Negro candidates.

The Left Wing crowd, led by BEN DAVIS, and including [redacted] and [redacted] and BILL WEINSTONE also spoke from the floor, pointing out that the FLYNN campaign had been a good piece of work and had brought the Party into the public eye and gotten publicity for it and proved that the Party could get out and work and obtain signatures and influence people. A group of the middle of the roaders, including MIKE DAVIDOW, BILL ALBERTSON and BILL LAWRENCE also spoke, pointing out the good and bad points of the FLYNN campaign. This group was working for unity in the Party.

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The Friday night session lasted until about 11:00 p.m., and the conclusion from the comments was that the Party had gained experience in its work in the 1957 elections and this experience would be profitable when the Party began its work in the next elections.

When I arrived at the Saturday morning session at about 11:30 a.m., BILL ALBERTSON was presiding and [redacted] had the floor and was discussing the 12 Party Statement. This statement is the Declaration of Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries, the complete text of which is set forth in the December, 1957 "Political Affairs." This Declaration was adopted by these Communist countries at the conclusion of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution which met in Moscow between November 14 and 16 of 1957.

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It was obvious from [redacted]'s comments and from the following speakers that [redacted] must have spoken at this Saturday morning session before I arrived. His speech must have been on the Declaration. [redacted] pointed out that this Declaration is for discussion only and that the National Committee has taken no position as to this Declaration and wants the State Committee to take no position on it. From [redacted]'s comments, it was apparent that he was not too enthusiastic about the Declaration.

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The Left Wing feels that this Declaration is the greatest thing that has come out of the Moscow celebration and some even described it as the greatest event in history. This group feels that the Declaration shows the solidarity of the Communist Party on a world-wide scale and that the Declaration should guide all the Communist movements in the world. This group feels that the Declaration should be endorsed by the State Committee even though the National Committee has directed that no position should be taken on it. They informed that this would mean discarding the program that came out of the 16th National Convention, but they sidestepped the issue of renouncing openly this program.

In this group and speaking from the floor were MAX GORDON, SY GERSON, PAUL ROBESON, [redacted] and [redacted] from New York. [redacted] was particularly critical of Hungary for not signing this document.

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[redacted] got off into an analysis of what the dictatorship of the proletarian means. He stated that it means a dictatorship of the working class with the power in the hands of the working class and doing away with the state.

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WEINSTONE got into a discussion of the main danger facing the CPUSA. The National Convention adopted a Resolution saying that left sectarianism is the main danger. The Left now wants to scrap this Resolution because the main danger now is clear and it is right opportunism and revisionism. WEINSTONE agrees with this, but feels that the Party still has a sectarian tendency. Revisionism, he feels, will change the Party into a debating society and this is causing people to leave the Party. He classifies opportunism and revisionism as cancerous growths in the Party.

[redacted] agrees with the Declaration. He feels that we are detached from the masses and that we should have cooperated more with the other Socialist movements in the other countries. He noted that he was a charter member of the CPUSA and a delegate to the First CP Convention.

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SI GERSON read from the National Convention proceedings, page 164 and 165. He feels that the Declaration is an article for discussion. It is a tremendous blow for peace. The Capitalists want to divide the Communist countries and this Declaration shows the unity of the Communist countries. He says he hopes for peaceful co-existence but criticized efforts of the United States to lure peoples away from the Socialist doctrines as evidenced by recent loans to Poland.

AL BLUMBERG welcomes this Declaration as a declaration of unity of the Socialist countries. He is glad that an endorsement of this Declaration is not demanded. Socialism has grown in the world and in the United States since the 20th Congress. The Declaration does not settle any questions, but merely raises them for consideration. It is not an answer to the motions of the California State Party, as some members of the National Committee say. The Party crisis is worse now than at the time of the 16th National Convention and he questions why the line of the 16th Convention is being changed. He feels that it must be reaffirmed.

[redacted] notes that DOXIE WILKERSON has left the Party. [redacted] discussed revisionism, Dogmatism and Sectarianism. The Party must fight all forms of isms. He criticized the Yugoslavs for not signing the Declaration.

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[redacted]

[redacted] stated that a Marxist-Leninist Party is needed to return the working class to power. He feels that we Communists are too isolated right now to cause any impact in the American scene.

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[redacted] agrees fully with this Twelve Party Document. He says that most people in the American CP agree with the document and he lines himself up in support of [redacted]. He stated that revisionism is the main danger in our Party today and that the "Daily Worker" does not help the Party because it does not print any articles on Party building or Party program.

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BEN DAVIS then read from page 12 of the December, 1957, edition of "Party Affairs." This was the National Executive Committee letter to fraternal parties. He then stated that the NEC agrees with the Twelve Party Document, and wants discussion of the document throughout the Party. He agrees that revisionism and opportunism have grown acute and that the Party wants to stop discussion on this revisionism. He identified GEORGE CHARNEY and [redacted] as among those individuals.

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[redacted] spoke in favor of the declaration, as did [redacted]. He charged the Chairman with trying to keep him from speaking from the floor. The second item on the agenda, the elections to the National Committee, then was taken up.

BILL ALBERTSON on Saturday announced that the Industrial Board had held a meeting recently and that three members who had been elected at the National Committee from the Industrial Board in the "7 man package deal" had to be replaced. ALBERTSON stated that the Industrial Board proposed the following three nominees: a representative from Buffalo whom ALBERTSON referred to as "he," a good Union member and well liked in the area; the second nominee from the Printers trade whom ALBERTSON identified as a printer, a Union member, a Negro, and made the statement that this Negro man had been in the YCL with BILL ALBERTSON; the third nominee was a person who had been imprisoned, was now out and occupied as a painter and was trying to get back in his Union. ALBERTSON then said that there was no security problem with this person as there

was with the other two, because this person did not care about security, and ALBERTSON then identified this person as LOUIS WEINSTOCK. ALBERTSON said that [] (whom I am confident is [] was a fourth candidate presented to the Industrial Board. ALBERTSON said that the Industrial Board had endorsed the representative from Buffalo and had held a vote on the printer, WEINSTOCK, and [] and that the printer had received 19 votes, WEINSTOCK 12, and [] 7. The Industrial Board, therefore, presented the Buffalo representative, the printer and WEINSTOCK to the State Committee for its approval.

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BILL LAWRENCE then took the floor and stated he had been at this Industrial Board meeting and "made a pitch" for [] with the obvious intent of getting her name placed in nomination from the floor of the State Committee. LAWRENCE said that the candidate from Printers never had attended an Industrial Board meeting whereas [] was a good worker and had attended all of the IB meetings.

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[] and [] whom I identified through photograph) then stated that one of these three nominees should be a Puerto Rican. They asked for and were granted authority to nominate from the floor of the State Committee. [] nominated [] and [] nominated [] [] declined in favor of []

A ballot was accordingly placed before the State Committee members containing the identifications only as follows: Buffalo representative; printer; LOUIS WEINSTOCK; and []. The 42 members present voted 35 for the Buffalo representative; 34 for the printer; 28 for WEINSTOCK and 20 for []. The three people with the most votes were declared elected to the National Committee and [] was defeated.

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ALBERTSON had previously announced that these three members had to be elected because one of the National Committee members from Upstate had quit and had never attended any meetings, one of the other 3 members who was being replaced could not attend National Committee meetings for security reasons and the third person being replaced had never attended any National Committee meetings. The Upstate member who was being replaced is [], but I cannot identify the other two.

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[redacted] then raised the question as to whether the State Committee should not elect four members to the National Committee rather than 3 inasmuch as DOXEY WILKERSON had quit the National Committee. ALBERTSON stated that he had studied the Constitution and that there was no provision for replacing a delegate at large, which was what WILKERSON was. No action was accordingly taken on [redacted] question.

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BEN DAVIS announced that a Negro Conference would be held by New York State on January 18 and 19, 1958. He stated that a group of nineteen individuals had been invited to a meeting which had already been held in New York City in preparation for this Negro Conference. He stated that a New York State Negro Commission would grow out of this conference.

BILL ALBERTSON reported on a Trade Union Conference which would be held in the immediate future. He stated that this would take the form of a series of conferences which would be held in different parts of New York State.

After these announcements we went back into a continued discussion on the Declaration. [redacted] spoke and stated that he was for the Declaration. CHARNEY followed and said that he thinks a free discussion of the Declaration will help our American Party. [redacted] followed and spoke in favor of the doctrine.

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BEN DAVIS then presented three motions, one was to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee as set forth in the Letter to Fraternal Parties; two, a resolution that, since the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA, the main danger facing the CPUSA has changed from left sectarianism to right opportunism and revisionism; three, The State Committee endorses and resolves that the National Committee should endorse this 12 Party Declaration.

[redacted] in his discussion of the doctrine, had clearly indicated the directions from the National Committee that this doctrine was to be discussed and no position was to be taken on it by the State Committee. BEN DAVIS started an opposition to this attitude and the Left Wingers at the State Committee supported him. Consequently when these 3 motions were presented, each motion was adopted by the State Committee on a show of hands.

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AL 100-2349

LEADS

THE NEW YORK DIVISION:

New York will attempt to identify UNSUB. [] UNSUB. [] and UNSUB. White Woman, and furnish photographs to Albany for display to the informant.

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It is noted that New York furnished Albany and Buffalo by letter dated December 18, 1957, captioned "CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, NEW YORK DIVISION", two photographs of an unknown white woman accompanied by []. Albany and Buffalo were requested to display these photographs to determine who this UNSUB was who had been observed entering the meeting room of the New York State Communist Party State Committee on December 13, and 14, 1957. This woman is the UNSUB. White Woman mentioned by the informant on page 2 of his report. If New York can identify this woman based upon the background information furnished in the informant's report, her name should be furnished to Albany.

It is noted that additional identifying data for UNSUB. [] appears on page 5 of the informant's report.

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The informant identifies STEVE NELSON as being in attendance at this meeting. If STEVE NELSON is not a New York State Communist Party figure and the Albany informant is confused on this identification, Albany should be advised.

Distribution of this report has been made to New York topical files.

It is requested that New York include this information in its next quarterly report on the Communist Party. Albany will no longer include this information in its quarterly report inasmuch as the mere reporting of this information tends to reveal to all intelligence agencies some identifying data concerning the informant.

The Albany informant has identified the following individuals, referred to in his report by first names only, by display of photographs of these individuals as follows:

[]

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1-28-58

JDM

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-4)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, NEW YORK DISTRICT,
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS - C

DATE: 1/23/58

Remytel, 1/17/58.

Enclosed herewith are original and four copies of a letterhead memorandum designated for captioned organization. One copy of this letterhead memorandum has been attached to each copy of this letter designated for Bureau and NYO. One copy of this letter and one copy of the letterhead memorandum have been designated Charlotte for information.

On 1/17/58, [redacted] orally advised SA MAX L. WILSON of the information provided in the attached memorandum. [redacted] was in attendance at the newly organized class held in Bronx, NY, on 1/16/58, which, in part, took up the situation between the Indians in North Carolina and the KKK. b7D

- 8-Bureau (100-3-4) (CP, USA, NEW YORK DISTRICT) (Encls. 5) (RM)
- (1-100-3-91) (CP, USA - NATIONAL GROUPS) (Encl. 1)
- (1-100-7801) (KKK) (Encl. 1)
- (1-100-3-83) (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (Encl. 1)
- (1-100-) (CP, USA - LINE) (Encl. 1)
- (1-100-3-71) (CP, USA - EDUCATION) (Encl. 1)
- (1- [redacted]) (Encl. 1)
- 1-Charlotte (100- [redacted]) (Info) (Encl. 1) (RM) b7D
- 1- [redacted] (12-10)
- 1-New York (100-54651) (CP, USA - NATIONAL GROUPS) (19)
- 1-New York (105-971) (KKK)
- 1-New York (100-89691) (CP, USA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (19)
- 1-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (19)
- 1-New York (100-80633) (CP, USA - EDUCATION) (19)
- 1-New York (100-26603-C40) (CP, USA-NEW YORK DISTRICT, BRONX COUNTY) (12-10)
- 1-New York (100-26603-C43) (CP, USA-NEW YORK DISTRICT, BROOKLYN COUNTY) (12-11)
- 1-New York (100-26603) (CP, USA-NEW YORK DISTRICT) (19) 100-95583-431

MLW:ume
(18)

MLW

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FBI - NEW YORK	



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York, New York

JANUARY 23, 1958

Re: Communist Party, United States
of America, New York District
New York Division

On January 17, 1958, an informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised that a newly organized "re-educational" class had been held in the Bronx, New York, during January, 1958. The informant reported that the class was designed to train prospective Communist Party members and to bring "old" members back into the Communist Party.

According to the informant, among the topics discussed at this class was the discord between the Ku Klux Klan and American Indians on "reservations" in North Carolina concerning the issues of segregation and discrimination. It was further disclosed at the meeting that these Indians had stores of arms and ammunition and were planning to rebel against harassment by the Klan. The informant further stated that the Communist Party in New York planned to identify Indians residing in Brooklyn, New York, thereafter "educating" them and sending them to North Carolina and to other areas having Indian populations to arouse unrest among the Indians.

This memorandum is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1/13/53

On the night of 1/12/53, I attended the Sunday Eve Forum held at Adelphi Hall, 74-5th Ave, NYC. This attendance for the evening was 17. Topic for discussion was the Negro Problem with [redacted] as speaker (The speaker's name can be approximately extracted from a copy of the bulletin sent in last week). This evening was associated with the National Guardian. [redacted] provided us [redacted]

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The speaker spoke for a short time and then opened the topic for discussion. The questions were based on the Negro Question in the U.S. They wanted to know how to answer a question from a blind to what is now to raise this question in your community.

The speech and discussion period were very dull. [redacted] ended the discussion with two questions to the speaker: they were: What to do about the Negro Question in our small communities and "What do you think is the most important thing the left or the Communists have done on the Negro problem." The speaker then answered the first question as community "Get together" or bringing up this Negro problem in the union meetings so that the committee can come with their own backyard prejudices. He then went on to the second question where he expressed the thought that the Communists were the leaders in bringing into the Negro mind the problem on the American Negro. At anything that the speaker spoke about Marxists or Communists in the discussion he seemingly spoke them in the direction of [redacted] as if to say "See as I doing" or "This is especially for you."

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The speaker ended early that night. We packed up the table and [redacted] and [redacted] went to the office. I [redacted] said the office [redacted] for the rental of the [redacted] room being that only 17 of us were present.

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Handwritten: 11-14-53 160-97525-

ede
2-4

John ✓

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, [redacted]

DATE: 1/27/58 b7D

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	District Board meeting, 1/7/58	1/10/58	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

* For assistance in reviewing report, a number in parentheses () following a name or title set forth below will indicate that there is a reference to that name or title on the page or pages whose number will be enclosed in the parentheses. Where no number is set out, it is suggested that the entire report be reviewed for information on the subject matter.

cc's:

- 1 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
- 1 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- HYMAN LUMER (6,9)
- 1 - Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- CARL WINTER (8)

100-95583-453

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FBI - NEW YORK	

BALTIMORE, MD.
JAN. 27, 1958

SEE NEXT PAGES FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES

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(72) *sm*

John

[Redacted]

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cc's:

19

- New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 100- JAMES JACKSON (3,4,6,9)
- ORGANIZATION, CP, USA (5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15)
- SECURITY MEASURES (5,6)
- FACEDONALISM (5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15)
- CP LINE (6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15)
- BRIEF FILE (6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15)
- BEN DAVIS (6,9,19)
- EUGENE DENNIS (6,7,8,9,10)
- JOHN GATES (6,7,9,10,11,13,14)
- FRED FINE (6,7,9,10)
- SID STEIN (6,7,8,9,10)
- PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17)
- DAILY WORKER (7,8,9,10,11,17)
- GEORGE CHARNEY (7)
- JACK STACHEL (8)
- [Redacted] (9)
- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (12,13,14)
- EDUCATION (14,15)
- FUNDS (17)

50 - Baltimore

- 100-10975 [Redacted]
- 100-10584 [Redacted]
- 100-12412 [Redacted]
- 100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS
- 100-12425 [Redacted] (2,4)
- 100-20176 [Redacted] (2)
- 100-12471 [Redacted] (2,3,4,19)
- 100-11386 [Redacted] (2,3,4,5,17,18)
- 100-8342 [Redacted] (2,17,18)
- 100-11953 [Redacted] (2,17,18)
- 100-14379 JAMES JACKSON (3,4,6,9)
- 100-11961 [Redacted] (4,5,18)
- 100-10675 [Redacted] (5)
- 100-9665 [Redacted] (5)
- 100-13730 [Redacted] (5)
- 100-13279 [Redacted] (5)
- 100-10013 [Redacted] (5)
- 100-3021 EUGENE DENNIS (6,7,8,9,10)
- 100-1560 BEN DAVIS (6,9,19)

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SEE NEXT PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES

BA copies continued

100- HYMAN LUMER (6,9)
 100-12117 JOHN GATES (6,7,9,10,11,13,14)
 100-14377 FRED FINE (6,7,9,10)
 100- SID STEIN (6,7,8,9,10)
 100-16104 GEORGE CHARNEY (7)
 100- CARL WINTER (8)
 100- JACK STACHEL (8)
 100- [REDACTED] (9)
 100-10995 [REDACTED] (17) b6
 100-12395 [REDACTED] (18) b7c
 100-7708 [REDACTED] (17,18,19)
 100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
 100-4090 BALTIMORE, DISTRICT 4
 100-11950 STEEL, DISTRICT 4 (2,17,18)
 100-12458 FACTIONALISM (2,3,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15)
 100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES (3,4,5,6,14,15,18,19)
 100-13964 DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION MATTERS (3,4)
 100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION (3)
 100-17339 COMINFIL NAACP (4)
 100-12948 DAILY WORKER (5,7,8,9,10,11,16,17)
 100-12125 PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,
 15,16,17)
 100-13098 CP LINE (6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16)
 100-11800 BRIEF FILE (6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16)
 100-12456 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (12,13,14)
 100-12244 EDUCATION (14,15)
 100-12170 MEMBERSHIP (16)
 100-11640 FUNDS (17)
 100-20496 TUC (17)
 100-12209 EAST BALTIMORE, DISTRICT 4 (17)
 100-12510 STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY (18)

[redacted] b7D

"Baltimore, Maryland
January 10, 1958

The following report concerns a meeting of the CP District Board for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C., which took place at the home of [redacted] on January 7, 1958.

The following District Board members were present at the meeting: [redacted] and GEORGE MEYERS, who is the Acting Chairman for the CP District.

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[redacted] arrived at MEYERS' home about 7:55 PM. He found GEORGE MEYERS, [redacted] GEORGE MEYERS' father-in-law and the MEYERS' children at home.

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MEYERS told [redacted] that they would wait for [redacted] since [redacted] was going to drive them to [redacted]'s home.

After a short social conversation, MEYERS mentioned that [redacted] had visited him on January 5, 1958, and had stayed for about three hours.

At this point the conversation was interrupted, MEYERS' son being put to bed.

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[redacted] arrived at MEYERS' home about 8:20 PM, and [redacted] MEYERS and [redacted] proceeded to [redacted]'s home in [redacted]'s car.

On the way over, MEYERS mentioned that he had met with the steel "guys" and that a "funny thing" happened. MEYERS said [redacted] had attended the steel meeting but did not get a good reception from those who had lost their jobs at the steel company because of appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) hearings of May, 1957. MEYERS said when [redacted] realized the situation, he asked MEYERS to drive him home, which MEYERS did. Upon MEYERS' return to the steel meeting, [redacted] and [redacted] told MEYERS

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they did not approve of MEYERS' actions in driving [redacted] home.

At this point MEYERS told [redacted] that he, MEYERS, and [redacted] would see [redacted] Monday night, January 13, 1958.

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[redacted] MEYERS and [redacted] arrived at [redacted]'s home about 8:50 PM, [redacted] arriving at about the same time.

Immediately after arrival, MEYERS began the District Board meeting by stating that [redacted] had visited MEYERS' home on January 5, 1958, and had spent about three hours with MEYERS. [redacted] wanted to know what the Party was doing about clearing [redacted]'s name since he did not care to have any suspicion directed against him to the effect that he was a Government informant. MEYERS said [redacted] also raised the question of the CP doing something about a city ordinance which had been introduced by a Mr. DIXON on October 28, 1957. [redacted] explained to MEYERS that this ordinance concerned equal rights for all citizens regardless of color or race at public accommodations. [redacted] told MEYERS that the NAACP and the Urban League had already started a campaign based on this bill.

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MEYERS said he did not take any position so far as [redacted] was concerned, gave him no instructions, and merely pointed out to [redacted] that the present situation in the Party prevented him from clearing [redacted].

MEYERS said that [redacted] repeated again and again that he wanted to be cleared of suspicion.

MEYERS then stated that he then thought the legislation mentioned by [redacted] could be used to advantage for discussion purposes in a social group of the type suggested by JAMES JACKSON on the latter's visit to Baltimore on December 6, 7 and 8, 1957, since it pertained mostly to Negroes. MEYERS said that the CP should try to get this legislation passed. MEYERS pointed out that, according to [redacted] the NAACP and the Urban League were pushing the bill by forming

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a committee which was having cards printed to canvass people in the city and government officials in general. MEYERS then instructed [REDACTED] to contact the NAACP and the Urban League to see how much progress they were making with regard to the bill, and suggested that CP members in this area should obtain signatures of as many people as possible who would endorse the bill. MEYERS also recommended that CP members who were connected with the NAACP should go to the NAACP and obtain cards pertaining to this bill which had been printed by the NAACP.

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MEYERS then said that he was going to talk to his wife who was an NAACP member.

[REDACTED] then asked whether the CP would work with [REDACTED] or would have him in a social group.

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MEYERS said that [REDACTED] would not be included and the only way the CP would work within the framework of the NAACP and Urban League would be through [REDACTED] and said that the CP would not work with [REDACTED] at all.

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[REDACTED] then commented that this would be a good time to use JAMES JACKSON's suggestions concerning the formation and use of a social group.

[REDACTED] then said she was going to make some coffee for the group but before going downstairs handed MEYERS a batch of literature.

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[REDACTED] then asked MEYERS whether [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] should be included in the social group to be formed and commented that he did not know much about them.

MEYERS replied that when he and [REDACTED] went to see [REDACTED] on Monday night, they would take up that matter.

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MEYERS said he did not know what could be done with [REDACTED] and commented that he had seen [REDACTED] the previous Sunday and had brought him a

[redacted] b7D

copy of The Worker which both [redacted] and his wife read. MEYERS said that [redacted]'s wife objects to [redacted] participating in the CP since such participation had resulted in the loss of [redacted]'s job in steel last Spring. MEYERS said that the [redacted]s now have a very small income and that Mrs. [redacted] has to do domestic work.

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[redacted] said that membership in a social group should not necessarily expose [redacted]

MEYERS replied that it could to some extent in view of [redacted]'s background and that he didn't want to put too much pressure on him since he had gotten [redacted] a job and did not want [redacted] to feel obligated.

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[redacted] said "Okay," and indicated that after seeing [redacted] work on the social group could be started.

[redacted] then stated that he wanted the District Board to discuss the whole matter of the formation of a social group and wanted the authority for the formation of such a group.

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MEYERS said that he counted on including [redacted] and [redacted] possibly [redacted] as members.

The other members of the District Board then gave [redacted] authority to go ahead with the formation of the group.

MEYERS then took out about 14 letters, some of this being the material which had been in the possession of [redacted] [redacted] and spread them out on the floor. MEYERS stated that he had just received new orders from the national CP leadership that all communications sent down to the Party Districts should be handled only by National Committee members and read by National Committee representatives at District Board meetings. MEYERS said that he was opposed to this instruction but would follow orders. MEYERS said that such instruction was contrary to his way of thinking and that he, himself, thought that all national leadership

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discussions should be given to the membership as a whole and in a public manner with the exception of some few matters which might be of a security nature.

MEYERS then said the first topic of discussion for the meeting would be the factional situation in New York. He said that he had a report from the CP National Administrative Committee (NAC) made up by those members of the NAC who had voted to support the "12 Party Statement." MEYERS then said that this statement, which was about 1½ pages, indicated that the majority of the NAC approved the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and pointed out that over the years the CP in the United States had gotten away from Marxist-Leninist theory because of the right opportunist positions of some of the Party leaders. The majority of the NAC also pointed out in this statement that by endorsing the "12 Party Statement," the CP could again re-establish itself among the masses and could tie the United States CP in with the international working parties of the world. At the bottom of the statement MEYERS pointed out JAMES JACKSON, BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS and HYMAN LUMER had endorsed the "12 Party Statement," while JOHN GATES, FRED FINE and SID STEIN had voted against it.

MEYERS then stated that he disagreed with the NAC on one point and noted that BEN DAVIS, after discussion of the "12 Party Statement" by the NAC, had moved that the stand of the NAC be made public but that the NAC had voted this motion down. MEYERS said that he agreed with DAVIS.

MEYERS then read a 2½ page statement from FRED FINE which gave FINE's views as to why he voted against the "12 Party Statement," in that it had been sent through the mail and that he had not had sufficient time to prepare for a discussion on the matter. FINE also thought that the wording of the "12 Party Statement" was too strong for this particular period.

MEYERS then read from a 3 page statement prepared by SID STEIN in which STEIN also mentioned having received the "12 Party Statement" through the mail and had not had sufficient time for preparation for discussion.

STEIN also thought that there should have been more discussion on the "12 Party Statement" before action had been taken on the matter. STEIN also felt that the United States CP did not need to adhere to the principles set forth in the "12 Party Statement" to get masses interested in the CP. MEYERS then commented that SID STEIN had not been present at the NAC meeting which had endorsed the Statement, and that his vote had been cast by proxy.

MEYERS then read from a page and a half statement which had been prepared by JOHN GATES. This statement repeated the arguments listed by SID STEIN and FRED FINE immediately above and also stated that acceptance or endorsement of the "12 Party Statement" would identify the United States CP as an agent of the Soviet Union. GATES also criticized the manner in which the NAC had handled the matter by trying to force the issue.

MEYERS then read a letter from JOHN GATES which criticized the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CP for voting to suspend the Daily Worker as of January 1, 1958. MEYERS pointed out that the voting had been as follows: 18 for suspension, 1 against (JOHN GATES), and 1 abstention (CHARNEY). MEYERS said that GATES in the letter had requested MEYERS to reply and give his viewpoint on the matter.

MEYERS then said that he had sent EUGENE DENNIS a letter telling DENNIS of JOHN GATES' letter relating to the Daily Worker and informing DENNIS that he, MEYERS, approved of the majority decision of the NEC on the Daily Worker until such time as a new editor for the Daily Worker could be appointed.

MEYERS then read another letter dated January 2, 1958, by SID STEIN to all NEC members asking them whether they wanted to reaffirm their position previously taken concerning suspension of the Daily Worker and wanted an answer in New York by January 6, 1958.

MEYERS stated that he had been angry upon receiving the letter and had immediately written to DENNIS telling DENNIS of STEIN's letter and again supporting DENNIS'

position on the suspension of the Daily Worker.
MEYERS added that he did not write to STEIN.

MEYERS then read two letters that he had sent to New York to EUGENE DENNIS on December 17, 1957, and December 28, 1957, giving MEYERS' views on the situation in New York as it pertained to the dispute among Party leaders and supporting EUGENE DENNIS' theory.

MEYERS then read from a letter that he had received from CARL WINTER in which WINTER said that he had abstained from voting at an NEC meeting on the question of the "12 Party Statement" because he felt that the confusion surrounding the situation made it necessary that no sudden action be taken. WINTER pointed out, however, that he was in full support of a working class party.

MEYERS also read from a letter that he had received from JACK STACHEL, who had abstained from voting at the NEC meeting which dealt with the "12 Party Statement." STACHEL thought like WINTER that more time for discussion should have been taken.

MEYERS then said on top of receiving all of these communications from New York, he received a number of phone calls from EUGENE DENNIS. MEYERS said that DENNIS had advised him of what had taken place at the NEC meeting of December 20-22, 1957. MEYERS said he asked DENNIS why MEYERS' proxy had not been used. DENNIS replied that it was a very important conference, and that since there was so much discussion, it was felt that no one should vote at that meeting unless they were present to hear the discussion. MEYERS said that he told DENNIS that he did not agree with that type of thinking since he had read the "12 Party Statement" and agreed with it in full. MEYERS said that DENNIS then replied that there would be plenty of time for MEYERS to present his views and that he could speak out at the National Committee meeting in February.

MEYERS then commented that after DENNIS had made the above call, he felt that he might have been wrong in sending his vote through the mail.

MEYERS then mentioned receiving another letter from

[REDACTED]

DENNIS asking MEYERS to send a letter to DENNIS expressing MEYERS' position on the "12 Party Statement." At this point MEYERS became angry and said that he did not answer this letter of DENNIS' since DENNIS had already received his views, and furthermore since DENNIS had just gotten through criticizing MEYERS for failing to appear at the meeting and sending his opinions through the mail rather than appearing in person.

MEYERS then said that he had received a telephone call from SID STEIN, and that STEIN had asked if JAMES JACKSON had visited Baltimore in December. MEYERS said that he explained that JACKSON had been brought down as a member of the national leadership and reminded STEIN that he had also asked STEIN to come to Baltimore in the past but that STEIN had never accepted the invitation. MEYERS then commented that STEIN must have made this phone call after the NAC had endorsed the "12 Party Statement" since STEIN, in asking about JACKSON's visit, asked whether JACKSON had attempted to influence MEYERS on the "12 Party Statement." With regard to the latter point, MEYERS said that he had told STEIN that JACKSON had not exercised any influence over him.

MEYERS then commented that people in the national leadership were calling him "time after time," but that such calls were useless since he fully supported EUGENE DENNIS.

MEYERS, again referring to STEIN's telephone call, said that STEIN had told him that the NAC meeting which had been held after the NEC meeting of December 20-22, 1957, which endorsed the "12 Party Statement," had been set up to strip JOHN GATES of all his responsibilities in regard to the Daily Worker. STEIN informed MEYERS that as soon as that proposal had been put on the floor for discussion, he, STEIN, had walked out of the meeting. MEYERS said at this point he asked STEIN who had attended the NAC meeting, and STEIN replied that at the beginning of the meeting there had been a quorum of six people: BEN DAVIS, JAMES JACKSON, EUGENE DENNIS, HYMAN LUMER, [REDACTED] and SID STEIN. STEIN said that JOHN GATES and FRED FINE had not attended the meeting. MEYERS said that

STEIN went on to say that when he walked out of the meeting, there was technically no quorum present, but that he understood despite that fact, the five people remaining at the meeting went on record unanimously proposing that JOHN GATES be stripped of all responsibility with regard to the Daily Worker. MEYERS said that STEIN asked him what position MEYERS took on the matter. MEYERS said that he replied to STEIN he would support the five, and upon hearing this, SID STEIN became very unhappy.

MEYERS then said he had received a phone call from FRED FINE. FINE said that the majority of the NAC was also thinking of bringing GATES up on charges in addition to removing him from responsibility for the Daily Worker because of the fact that GATES had given a statement to the New York Times without consulting CP national leaders. FINE said that a majority of the NAC felt that GATES' action was contrary to working class party policies. FINE also said that the NAC was undecided whether or not to bring GATES up on charges at that time or to wait until GATES resigned from the Daily Worker. MEYERS then asked FINE if GATES had decided to resign from the paper, and FINE replied that there were only rumors to that effect. FINE then asked MEYERS how MEYERS intended to vote as an NEC member, and MEYERS said that he had told FINE that he would support EUGENE DENNIS. MEYERS said his reasons for that as given to FINE were that GATES had taken his own individual position as the editor of the Daily Worker and would not abide by decisions made by a majority of the national leaders. MEYERS said that he also stated that he felt GATES was trying to liquidate the CP. MEYERS said he didn't go any further than that with FINE since he knew FINE was a follower of JOHN GATES.

MEYERS then said that DENNIS had telephoned him at 4:00 PM, Monday, January 6, 1958, and MEYERS not being home at that time, DENNIS called back at 8:00 PM.

During this latter phone call, DENNIS told MEYERS that he had picked up information from New York from a couple of people that GATES was going around telling people

[REDACTED] b7D

that if the NAC did not allow the Daily Worker to continue, he would resign from the CP and "blast" the CP for being an agent of the Soviet Union and he, GATES, would "blast" people who supported the "12 Party Statement."

MEYERS then said that DENNIS had told him during this latter phone call that a majority of the NAC had drawn up charges against GATES for giving information to the New York Times without authority of the national leadership but were undecided how to go about presenting these charges. MEYERS then pointed out he felt that GATES, when taking action to the effect of talking about resigning, was out to attack and destroy the CP. MEYERS said that DENNIS told him that before personally speaking to GATES about the rumors to the effect that GATES was about to resign and blast the CP, he, DENNIS, went around and checked on the story to be sure that it was true and after checking found that it was true. MEYERS then told the District Board that DENNIS told him that the NAC did not know whether to present charges before or after GATES had resigned from the Daily Worker. MEYERS asked DENNIS if the paper would be continued, and DENNIS had replied that a letter had been sent out on January 2, 1958, to get the sentiments of the NEC members, but that the paper had been officially suspended as of January 1, 1958. MEYERS said that DENNIS told him despite this official suspension, GATES continued to issue the Daily Worker and kept putting the CP further and further into debt.

MEYERS said he asked DENNIS why the charges had been held up, and DENNIS replied that some of the national leaders felt that things should be worked out if possible so that harmony would prevail at the February meeting of the National Committee. MEYERS said DENNIS at this point asked him how MEYERS would vote, and MEYERS said he replied he would vote to bring GATES up on charges, that the charges were overdue, and the matter should be brought to a head.

MEYERS said that what he had just brought forth was a brief picture of the New York situation, and that he could not personally understand all the excitement over the

[REDACTED]

"12 Party Statement." MEYERS said he felt the CP must come forward and establish contact with the workers, and that the continued factionalism was hurting the CP. MEYERS said he had read the "12 Party Statement" several times and supported it thoroughly. MEYERS said it might have been modified as to language. MEYERS then pointed out that this was the first time in many years that the CP had such a bright outlook on an international scale, and that the only way the CP in the United States could achieve anything would be for CP members to aggressively build a Party.

MEYERS said the "12 Party Statement" speaks out for many things that the American people would support and that in this area he wanted the opinions of persons in the Party and those close to the Party regarding the "12 Party Statement."

MEYERS then said that the "12 Party Statement" called for a strict application of Marxist-Leninist theory. MEYERS then pointed out that the security decision taken by the CP in 1950 was taken by the Party at a time when the CP should have continued to carry on a struggle. MEYERS pointed out that those persons who took over the leadership at a time when most of the CP leaders went to jail or underground established themselves as right opportunists and those in the CP who did not join them were accused of left sectarian activities. MEYERS said that this right opportunist group became so firmly established that the Party was divided in two, one group being characterized as left sectarian and the other characterized as right opportunist. MEYERS said that it was clear to him that the "right danger" in the CP must be eliminated, and that the right opportunist had caused a demoralization of the rank and file members of the CP.

MEYERS then asked what was the position of those present regarding the "12 Party Statement" and the rebuilding of the CP.

[REDACTED] said that when she first read the "12 Party Statement," it was like getting a "clean breath of air." She noted that over the past 10 years or so Marxist-Leninist theory had been ignored and that when

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[REDACTED] b7D

the CP should have mobilized their forces to fight deportation, Smith Act cases, forced job losses by CP members and discrimination against CP members, nothing was done. [REDACTED] said that there was some danger in the "12 Party Statement," but that she thought some of the danger could be eliminated through discussion of the "12 Party Statement" with the membership and the acquainting of the general membership of the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory. She noted that one of the dangers present in the "12 Party Statement" was the fact that it would identify the United States CP as being tied in with the international workers movement.

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[REDACTED] then said that for a number of years the CP leaders in the New York Party had been using the Party for their personal use. She pointed out that before the National Convention had been held, many of the national leaders and their supporters had started a move to change the name and form of the Party to a political association, and that this move had been made in order that they could insure themselves a job in the Party without any danger. She noted that since the National Convention had terminated and procedures had been set so that the Party could examine its past errors and rebuild, a year had passed with no activity made which was rebuilding the Party.

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[REDACTED] said she could see why the commotion was taking place in New York around the "12 Party Statement" since it was clear to her that the JOHN GATES forces have no interest in the Party as a working class Party.

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[REDACTED] went on to say that the position of the GATES forces has caused the majority of the membership to leave the Party. She felt that the "12 Party Statement" had been brought forth so that the Party could be reunified and to help pull the Party out of the dogmatic and bureaucratic positions that the Party had taken because of leaders like JOHN GATES.

[REDACTED] went on to say that a similar situation had occurred in another country and pointed to an article in the December, 1957, Political Affairs, which, according to [REDACTED] showed that right wing

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opportunists in Poland had tried to take control, but that the CP had held a convention and had reunited itself around Marxist-Leninist theory. [redacted] said this same thing would have to be done in the United States.

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[redacted] said in summing up what the "12 Party Statement" means to her, she felt that it was nothing more than a plan for the United States CP to come out more openly and identify itself with Marxist-Leninist theory.

MEYERS then commented that the JOHN GATES forces were trying to say that Socialism could be brought about by peaceful co-existence. As far as he could understand it meant living "in bed" with Capitalism and hoping that some time Socialism would come about. MEYERS then said it was his understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory that Socialism could only come about through a continuous struggle which had to be carried on until the Capitalist class was non-existent.

[redacted] then said that that was one of the reasons that she believed the Party today should have education on Marxist-Leninist theory.

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[redacted] then said that she wanted MEYERS to know that at this stage she supported the "12 Party Statement."

[redacted] then said that he had read the "12 Party Statement" and felt that there was some danger in the Statement. He said, however, that the value of the "12 Party Statement" to the CP all over the world should not be underestimated.

[redacted] said that so far as the danger in the "12 Party Statement," he thought such danger would lie principally in how the reactionary forces in America would interpret the Statement and attempt to tie it in with a revolution against the Capitalist classes in the United States.

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[redacted] then pointed out that the JOHN GATES forces in this area might capitalize on the alleged international tie with the CP of the Soviet Union and her allies which was set forth in the "12 Party Statement." [redacted] said that the CP in this area would have to be particular since it was known that the majority of the outgoing District Board and District Committee members would not come out and support the "12 Party Statement" publicly

[redacted] b7D

or would even approve it among people they felt might be suspected of trying to harm the Party. [redacted] also reminded the Board that it must be realized that the outgoing District Board had considerable influence over CP members in this area. [redacted] pointed out that the District Board should find ways and means of utilizing the "12 Party Statement" without causing any more of a factional fight in this area. [redacted] then said that he felt one of the main errors the CP had made in the past was in not educating members of the CP in Marxist-Leninist theory, and that even the leadership itself had become almost totally isolated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

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[redacted] said in the past a position had been taken that it would be useless to maintain a struggle during the period when the United States was in a "boom" cycle since by failing to maintain contact during the "boom" the CP had lost contact with the masses.

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[redacted] said he felt the District Board should come to some conclusion on bringing a report to the National Committee meeting to be held in February. [redacted] said the report should show District Board thinking in this area with regard to the "12 Party Statement." [redacted] called attention to the fact that the report should tie in the principles set forth in the "12 Party Statement," but should modify some of the language. [redacted] also recommended that the December, 1957, Political Affairs and copies of The Worker which contained the text of the "12 Party Statement" should be disseminated to the rank and file CP members so that they could discuss the Statement and come to some sort of decision on action to be taken in a democratic manner.

The District Board all agreed on [redacted]'s suggestions.

[redacted] then stated that he was of the same opinion as everyone else, that is he supported the "12 Party Statement." [redacted] said he felt the Statement spoke out for democratic rights and pointed out the necessity of having international working party ties. He, like the others, also felt that some of the language in the Statement should be modified.

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[redacted] then asked for a program to be drawn up so that it

[redacted] b7D

could be presented to the National Committee.

MEYERS then moved that [redacted] and [redacted] be nominated to draw up a program to be presented to the District Board and District Committee at the meeting to be held on January 15, 1958, emphasizing that the CP was trying to continue its struggle to rebuild the Party.

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MEYERS then suggested that discussions should take place on topics such as maintaining the present name and form of the Party and the necessity for rebuilding the Party. He also suggested that there should be discussions surrounding the question of how to apply the Marxist-Leninist theory in an American way. MEYERS also felt that attempts should be made to step up recruiting and efforts made to maintain the Sunday Worker as a CP periodical.

All present agreed and it was decided that on January 10, 1958, [redacted] would go to [redacted]'s home, and that the two of them would draw up a program which would be presented at the January 15th District Board and District Committee meeting.

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[redacted] then asked that the full District Board take a few minutes out on January 13 and check on the program that she and [redacted] would have drawn up. MEYERS then suggested that after drawing up the program, [redacted] and [redacted] should drop it at MEYERS' home on Sunday, January 12th, and that he, MEYERS, would show [redacted] the program on January 13th, so by the latter date it would have been reviewed by the entire District Board.

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[redacted] then said she was thinking of having the program mimeographed.

[redacted] suggested that enough copies be prepared for the District Board and District Committee meeting and after the program had been corrected at that meeting, there could be enough corrected copies run off to be disseminated to the entire membership in this area.

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All agreed on the above, and it was decided that after MEYERS and [redacted] had looked at the program on January 13th,

[redacted] b7D

it would be returned to [redacted] that same day or the following day so that she could have it mimeographed by January 15th.

MEYERS then said to [redacted] that he had \$11.00 for Trade Union Commission (TUC) literature.

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[redacted] asked why he had the money and said she thought [redacted] was responsible for the sale of CP literature in the TUC.

MEYERS replied that he had passed this material on to a number of people at a steel meeting, and that he hadn't seen [redacted] in time enough to give him the money.

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[redacted] then went to a closet in the room and brought out a large brown envelope from which she drew about five smaller white envelopes which contained paper money in the amount of about \$400.00 to \$450.00 in five, ten and twenty dollar bills. There was also an envelope with change in it.

[redacted] then turned over \$7.00 for literature which he said he had sold to the East Baltimore Club. He then told [redacted] that he had left a bill for CP literature sent to this District at home, but that to the best of his recollection it was about \$50.00 and that this bill would bring the receipt of 1957 literature up to date.

[redacted] then took from one of the white envelopes \$50.00, (three ten dollar bills and one twenty dollar bill), which she gave to [redacted] and instructed him to send it to New York. MEYERS asked [redacted] for \$5.00 for his expenses for telephone call, and she gave him the \$5.00. MEYERS then asked [redacted] to give [redacted] \$30.00 for Sunday Workers received by her from New York. [redacted] then took three ten dollar bills from one of the envelopes and said she would give it to [redacted].

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MEYERS then reported that he had been able to get the steel men together and had held a meeting with [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] present. MEYERS said that [redacted] came late to the meeting, and as soon as he walked in, [redacted] and [redacted]

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acted as if they did not want to be in [redacted]'s company. After [redacted]'s arrival, a short discussion took place concerning the situation in steel, in particular the fact that there were severe lay-offs taking place. MEYERS said it was obvious that [redacted] was not too comfortable during the discussion and [redacted] challenged [redacted] on one occasion on [redacted]'s loyalty to the Party. [redacted] would not answer [redacted] directly.

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At this point MEYERS commented that [redacted], [redacted] and [redacted] are a little bit in doubt about [redacted] since [redacted] was rehired by the steel company. MEYERS said that [redacted] has stated that he definitely does not want anything to do with [redacted]. MEYERS said he felt it was a bad situation where a Negro with a lot of responsibilities took the risk of making a false statement before company and union officials to the effect that he was not a CP member in order to get his job back, and after taking the risk found himself accused of being an informant.

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MEYERS then spoke again of the steel meeting, and said that when [redacted] would not answer [redacted] [redacted] asked MEYERS to take him home. MEYERS said he then left the meeting temporarily to take [redacted] home, and upon his return to the steel meeting, WOOD and [redacted] asked MEYERS why he was tied in with a suspected person. MEYERS said that he told them that he was fed up with this business of everyone's being an informant and suggested that the group get down to business and try to carry out the work of the CP. MEYERS told them that if they had any charges to make against [redacted] they should present them. MEYERS said that [redacted] and [redacted] then backed down.

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[redacted] asked what [redacted] had to say.

MEYERS commented that [redacted] in the past had been in the same position as [redacted].

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[redacted] then remarked that [redacted] had been very rough when the question of his being an informant had been

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[redacted]

raised, and that he had left the CP for awhile following such accusations. [redacted] said further that after [redacted] left the CP, no more mention was made of the accusations.

At this point the meeting ended at about 11:20 PM.

On the way home in [redacted]'s car, MEYERS remarked to [redacted] and [redacted] that every time [redacted] had come over to see MEYERS in the past, he had held a short discussion and then left, but on this last occasion, the night of January 5, 1958, [redacted] stayed three hours and during that time kept telling MEYERS over and over again how he had bought his home, how his wife approved of his being a CP members, that he wanted to return to the CP, and kept mentioning the persons that he had worked for. MEYERS commented that after this conversation with [redacted] he felt that it was not too safe to talk to [redacted] on a Party line, and that he did not care to contact [redacted] but that since [redacted] and he had been friends in the past, he would not insult [redacted] by refusing to let him in his home.

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At this point MEYERS stated that he might just as well state that BEN DAVIS had said that as far as [redacted] again becoming a member of the CP, that situation could not be allowed to come to pass.

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There was no reaction from [redacted] as a result of MEYERS' statement.

[redacted] then remarked to MEYERS that it was final as to [redacted].

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MEYERS replied that that was the case and they did not have to worry any longer about accepting [redacted] back into the CP.

Following this conversation, [redacted] dropped [redacted] off at his home and MEYERS off at his home."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

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The person referred to on page 2 as GEORGE MEYERS' [redacted] is [redacted].

MA
2/6/58

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C42) (#12-15) DATE: 2/4/58

FROM: [redacted] SA (#19) b6 b7C

SUBJECT: NEW YORK COUNTY CP
IS - C

- 1 - [redacted] (CIFU) (#19) b7D
- 1 - NY 100-128814 (CP, NYS, Organization) (#19-2)
- 1 - NY 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-128821 (CP, NYS, Factionalism) (#19-2)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA, Factionalism) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA, Line) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-74560 (CP, USA, Funds) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-130507 (CP, USA, Attempts to form Broad Socialist Organization) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1892 (Lower Harlem Section, NY County CP) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (Publisher's New Press, Inc.) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-67234 [redacted] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-7772 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-134081 (UNSUB, W, M, From "National Group") (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-68063 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-54555 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-111666 (JACK SHULMAN) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-91911 (JESSE GRAY) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-81767 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-91454 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 105-9328 [redacted] LNU. From Greek Section) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-131786 [redacted] (#12-15) b6 b7C
- 1 - NY 100-86066 [redacted] (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-79025 [redacted] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-66715 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-55621 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-58135 [redacted] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-57965 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-132332 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-67995 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-133805 [redacted] LNU) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-108183 (MRS. [redacted]) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-127918 [redacted] (#12-15)

DR:DMO
(53)

100-95583-455

SEARCHED [] INDEXED []
SERIALIZED [] FILED []
FEB 11 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C42

IDENTITY OF SOURCE: [REDACTED] who has
furnished reliable
information in the
past (conceal)

b7D

COPIES CONTINUED

- 1 - NY 100- (ELIZABETH LNU, W, F, 65, 5'2", 115,
white hair, horned rimmed glasses,
attended NY County CP Committee meeting,
1/6/58, per [REDACTED] (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-13336 [REDACTED] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-94357 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] LNU, W, M, member of Greek Section
attended NY County CP Committee meeting,
1/6/58, per [REDACTED] (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-228 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-9369 (TED BASSETT) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-9756 (SADIE VAN VEEN) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-84993 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-88013 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] LNU, W, F, friend of MORRIS
SCHAPPES, resides W. 11th St., NYC,
attended NY County CP Committee meeting,
1/16/58, per [REDACTED] (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-90939 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-43414 [REDACTED] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-120215 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] LNU, W, F, From Chelsea Section,
attended NY County CP Committee meeting,
1/16/58, per [REDACTED] (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-20802 (A. J. MUSTE) (#19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-13480 (JOE STAROBIN) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-14606 (JOE CLARK) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-50806 (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#19-2)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C42 (#12-14)

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MEMO
NY 100-26603-C42

DESCRIPTION OF INFO: Enlarged NY County CP
Committee meeting,
1/16/58

DATE RECEIVED: 1/22/58

RECEIVED BY: SA [REDACTED]
(written)

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ORIGINAL LOCATED: [REDACTED].

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

A copy of informant's report follows:

COPY

Thursday, January 16, 1958,
8:30 P.M. Central Plaza
Annex, New York City
Manhattan-County Committee,
C.P. Enlarged meeting
(Morningstar Lodge)

Present: Approximately 60. Among them:

[redacted], Wil Weinstone, FNU [redacted] NU
(from National Group, previously attended County meetings),
[redacted] Jesse
Gray, [redacted] LNU (from Greek Section),
Innocentia LNU, [redacted]
[redacted]
LNU (from Professional), [redacted] LNU, [redacted] LNU (from Village
Club #2), Mrs. [redacted] Elizabeth LNU
(White Female, 65, 5'2", 115, white hair, dark horn
rimmed glasses), [redacted] LNU (From Chelsea),
[redacted] LNU (Greek Section), [redacted] Ted Bassett, Sadie
Van Veen, [redacted] LNU, [redacted] LNU (Friend
of Morris Schappes---Was with him at reconvened County
Convention; walked out with him. Just moved to 11th
Street, between 7th Ave. and Hudson St.). [redacted] LNU,
[redacted] LNU (From Chelsea).

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The entire meeting was devoted to Weinstone's report on the meeting of the NY State Committee Meeting of the previous weekend. He was introduced by the Chairman as "State Education Director of the Party". Following is his report:

I will report on the State Committee meeting this past weekend. I shall deal chiefly with the Daily Worker and Gates' resignation, which the State Committee sharply condemned. It also confirmed the decision of the last meeting, opposing the position of the NAC on the 12-Party declaration and asked the National Committee to disapprove the NAC resolution. The NAC is a 7-man committee (or was; it is now six men). The NEC is 23; the NC is 60. The NEC reversed the position of the NAC. The matter will go to the NC meeting, which very likely will be held in February.

COPY

It was proposed to hold another meeting of the NEC at the end of this month, and to postpone the NC meeting. A poll is being taken. There was a slim majority in favor of Stein's resolution. I hope there will be a meeting of the NC, and not of the NEC.

The State Committee also approved Davis' report on the Party situation, based on a report of the proceedings of the NEC. Stein replaced Charney, who was ill in making the report. The Davis and Stein reports were both accepted, by a large vote, 2 to 1, or a little better.

It was decided not to circulate the reports, but the staff of the State Committee unanimously called for a reversal of that decision and the sending out of these reports---and a special issue of Party Affairs will be published with the reports.

There were other items at the meeting but tonight I want mainly to discuss the question of the resignation of Gates and the closing Down of the DW, at least temporarily, I hope. I think we all agree that the suspension of the DW is a big blow to the Party. Financial reasons and inner-party difficulties made it hard to sustain the paper. We reached a point where its continuance threatened the existence of the worker. Its maintenance and perpetual financial crises was interrupting our Party work and eating up our finances. The deficit was huge---at one time, \$350,000, later cut down to some \$200,000. That is why the NEC voted 18-1 for temporary suspension of the paper. In this vote, all the different trends merged. The vote against was Gates', and there was one abstention on the part of Charney. Gates fought this decision, through the capitalist press and in letters to the NC. He said the reason the paper was suspended was because funds were withheld from it. This was a fraudulent argument, a cover-up of Gates' real position. In the course of the past year, we sent huge sums into the paper. Members sacrificed themselves to the cause, despite differences and criticisms. There were some who did not give support, but that was not the position of the Party as a whole. Gates, in his letter

to the NC members, said it is necessary for the Party to take a "Bold Political and Organizational Step" in order to save the paper. He said the "Members must be told off". But he did not tell all to the membership. After his position was condemned by the NAC for going to the capitalist press as contrary to working-class and Party principles, a meeting was held with the Staff because a number of stagg members exonerated him, as you read in the DW. A meeting was held--the NAC with the staff. Gates read approvingly a letter from a student and told of a phone call from I. F. Stone, proposing that the paper be maintained, and offering cooperation. This is what he meant by a "Bold Step". In order to save the paper, it should be reorganized with the inclusion of Muste, Starobin, Clark, IF Stone, and such elements. What would such a paper be? It would be Anti-Marxist, Anti-Party, Anti-Socialism. Muste is Anti-Soviet. As for Clark, you know his position. The letter he wrote at the time of his resignation did not give his full position. It is characteristic of revisionists not to reveal their true position, but they say their aim is "Socialism". Gates wants to return to the position of Samuel Gompers---A struggle for reforms, not for Socialism. We know we cannot liberate the working class from the enslavement of capitalism through reforms. He calls upon America to engage in peaceful co-existence and says american Socialism will become a necessity. He speaks of a "Revolt against Stalinism".

The DW was suspended because of financial difficulties, but we would shut our eyes to the basic reason that the opportunist line under Gates' editorship contributed to that situation. The NEC did not deal correctly with the membership in regard to the DW or in regard to the suspension. It should have called the members into consultation and discussed the listened to them and to their criticism and should have involved them in such a basic decision. They did not consult or take seriously the criticism of the paper. No attention was paid to the proposals of the State Committee about the editors of the paper. Gates threatened to resign, creating a split, on the question of the removal of Clark. Gates politically

blackmailed the NC, scared a section of the NC members, which did not act in fear of this threat. The vote for the removal of Clark was 28 against, 12 for, 7 abstentions. Foster, Davis, [redacted] Weinstone, and others fought in spite of the threat. The majority underestimated the seriousness of the right opportunist errors of the paper. Moreover, they conciliated them. There should have been a public struggle against Clark, Starobin and Gates position, which was demoralizing the Party. The paper was not defending the Party or its principles against the attacks of the Capitalist press and those who had resigned and were conducting a struggle against the Party. The paper in general was contributing to it. The paper should have defended the Party. It would have stopped some of the demoralization. Gates was traveling, since the Convention, steadily away from the Party. Now he reveals that which he concealed, at least partly, from the Party. Today his position has become one of fighting the Party and fighting Socialism. His resignation is aimed at the demoralization of the Party. But he will not succeed. The Party will condemn him, as the State Committee condemned him. Members will now turn upon him with contempt, because he has shown himself to be an opportunist and a bourgeois nationalist. This is an inevitable result of taking the wrong road and not correcting it on time.

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He was called in to the NAC, asked whether he was going to resign, and he said he may and may not. He did not inform the Party. At the press conference he said the Soviet Union is not democratic---America is the country of free expression. He is helping imperialism, which is preparing war under the slogans of democracy. The Herald Tribune ran an editorial headed "Welcome to John Gates". This is the country that sent the Rosenbergs to the execution, that framed Eiss, sent Sobell to serve up to 30 years, etc. This is the country that Gates is praising.

[redacted] pointed out that the resignation was part of a strategy in which Gates has been engaged for at least a year. (1) He worked with [redacted] Lil Gates, Young Ben Davis

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and some former Manhattan Leaders, who were trying to tear members away from our organization. (2) On the inside, the tactic was a steady policy of demoralization by means of resignations: Starobin, Steuben, Fast, Clark, and now Gates himself. That people left---that can happen. But when these people turn renegade, attack the Party and its principles, and socialism,---when the paper protects them instead of attacking them, that is a policy of demoralization of the Party from within. Gates will appear on TV and have a series of articles in the Post. This was pre-arranged. A number of leaders, including Comrade Stein, while opposing the resignation of Gates, instead of attacking him, launched his main attack on Foster, Dennis, Davis, Weinstone, and others with whom he has differences. Because he was too ill to appear, Charney wrote a letter calling upon the State Committee not to condemn Gates. Is it not the task of leaders to defend the Party? Forget your differences and answer this question. Remember Lovestone and Browder. It was necessary to take steps to prevent the Party from going to pieces. The same is true now with Gates.

Gates reasons for resignation: He developed an extreme opportunist line of policy, moving away from Marxism and favoring the liquidation of the Party, reflecting the pressure of American imperialism. Never has the Bourgeoisie been such an agitator. Gates, in his statement, indicated that he was maturing these thoughts while he was in prison. But he came forward with his views soon after the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The 20th Congress marked a turning point in world history. It indicated that we have entered a new era. As the 12-Party statement says, a new epoch, represented by a transition of capital to socialism. Now there is not one system, but two world systems, the beginning of which was the Revolution of 1917. Socialism today has nearly a billion people. There are anti-imperialist states with 500,000,000 people. This new situation opened up new paths to socialism--new ways and possibilities to maintain peace. The Congress at the same time revealed weaknesses which had grown up in the Soviet Union that had to be corrected. But there were also old facts in the new situation. Gates interpreted this new era one-sidedly.

For instance, the question of imperialism, which has been weakened on the world scene. Because of that, there are new possibilities for peaceful co-existence and war is not inevitable. But Gates and the others thought that imperialism had changed its character. At the July meeting of the NC., in discussing Dennis' report on peace, and in reply to Foster, Gates said that American imperialism is not trying to dominate the world. Stachel challenged it, along with comrades of the left. He pointed out that the 16th Party Convention said it in those words. Is not this position playing down the role of American imperialism, minimizing the danger of war and the danger to the Socialist world? This is the basis of Gates' serious error and antagonism on the question of Hungary, in which he failed to see that, despite errors, what was in Hungary was a counter-revolution, deliberately prepared by the reactionary forces. While presenting American imperialism in a favorable light, failing to see its ultra reactionary character, he also adopted a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. Gates drew the conclusion that the Soviet was undemocratic and in crisis, because of the errors of the latter Stalin days. Articles appeared attacking the Soviet Union as totalitarian--- as in a book review of a book which called the Soviet Union totalitarian. There was no condemnation of the book. Not a single worthwhile article appeared under his editorship upholding the achievements of the Soviet Union until the appearance of Spatnik, and even then, with reservations.

America has had a period of high prosperity. Lenin said this can occur during the decay of a system. But from this Gates drew the conclusion that Capitalism had changed its character-----"Time For a Change", in Political Affairs. He said now the possibility exists to avoid crisis in capitalism, embracing Stachey's thesis in "Contemporary Capitalism".

On the question of new roads to Socialism: It is true that there are new ways---the possibility of peaceful transition in some countries, though not in all countries. But here again Gates gave a wrong and one-sided view. He presented the road to socialism as smooth and easy, without class struggles, without the necessity for working

class power. He challenged the validity of Marxism-Leninism in General, and particularly in the United States. He became an American exceptionalist. They said Socialism has been established only in backward countries, not in advanced countries, completely overlooking eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia.

But why were they wrong? Because Lenin had pointed out that under conditions of imperialism, capitalism is smashed first where it is weakest, not where it is strongest---the law of uneven development. Imperialist countries advance at the expense of other countries. Under those conditions, the link break where it is weakest. But it is not true that Marxism has not been victorious in advanced capitalist countries---in France, Marxist-Leninist Parties have the majority of the working class. What is needed is unity among them.

On the Party: The Party was weakened in the last 10 years by intense and vicious repression of the enemy, during which time we lost 30-40 thousand members, before the recent losses in the period after the 20th Congress. It was true also that mistakes of a sectarian character also contributed to the weakening of the Party. At the same time, while the party and the left movement were being ground down by the Bourgeoisie, the labor and peace movements grew. A contradiction existed. Gates thought the bourgeoisie was employing tactical measures---attacking the vanguard of the proletariat. He drew other conclusions---that the Party was done for, was bankrupt, was discredited by its support of the Soviet Union. He drew conclusions, not in favor of internationalism, but in favor of dis-association from the world Communist movement. He called for the liquidation of the Party and the establishment of a political association. This drew many good comrades out of our ranks. They could not have gone if they had been given proper clarification. When Gates was defeated in this policy, he began to move in the direction of a mass Socialist Party---in combination with Muste-ites, Trotzkyites, and similar elements. This is a road to the liquidation of the Party. We are of course for a mass Socialist Party, but not for a mass Social Democratic Party. This will be

accomplished after a period of big struggles, and must involve the working class. What they propose in the name of a mass Socialist Party is to move more and more in the direction of the liquidation of the Party---a utopian scheme, if ever there was one. The line was liquidationist and revisionist. It shows that it was correct to struggle against Gates' line. It has been supported in whole or in part by others in the leadership. We would be unjust if we did not face facts. Particularly in the DW, but also in other ways, in the New York State Committee, and the position taken by some, that the Party must be a sort of interim organization pending the arriving of the mass Party of Socialism. A right position has been taken, one way or another, by a section of the leadership, in the name of overcoming isolation, calling for implementing the 16th Convention, but interpreting it in a one-sided way. Revisionism has been paralyzing the activities of the Party, diverting it from its main task and spreading demoralizing in our ranks. Dennis' report criticizes sectarianism and mainly attacks revisionism. It has some weaknesses, but in the main I uphold it. Right opportunism is a policy of submerging the Party. It is correct to say we must work in the mainstream---but what is the mainstream? You can drown within the mainstream. The mainstream has opportunist currents and working class currents. You can become a rear guard, dragging behind the working class, just as well as you can run ahead of the masses. Either way, we can become isolated. The Party must put forward its face and its program in order not to be isolated. Working in mass organizations, you must not efface the Party or you will lead to the liquidation of the Party.

Yes, we have sectarianism. It is an old and chronic sickness of the movement---though not the only one.

Today we have sectarianism in the failure to fight fully against the restrictions on our legality and in our failure to build the United front. In conciliating revisionism, ultra left moods have been growing in the Party. "Sweep Out Revisionism", a document by a group of comrades, criticizes revisionism. Its position is correct.

There has been no struggle for Negro rights or for the needs of the Puerto Rican masses. It is correct for it to point this out. As a result of revisionism and the fact that we have been diverted by the internal struggle, the Party leadership has made serious mistakes. It is necessary to make the fight for Negro rights a central and decisive feature of our work. Here in NY, the Puerto Rican situation is important,---the fight for independence of Puerto Rico and defence of Latin American people. Telegrams were sent to the Convention from Latin American countries, and were not heeded by the Convention.

But the document is also one-sided. While fighting revisionism, it does not see the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism. In the name of the 12-Party declaration, we must give consideration and exchange points of view on this question. For example, in dealing with the Wallace Party, the mistake was one of right opportunism. There may have been certain right opportunist illusions, but the mistake was one of running ahead of the masses. The slogan for a third party was translated prematurely into action, without the mass of the trade unions being involved in it. We cut ourselves off from the trade unions. Also the document does not explain the essence of the new World situation today or suggest new tactics.

We must discuss new problems, not ignore them. It is the duty of every comrade to discuss these problems.

On methods of inner-Party struggle: These comrades are pursuing wrong and harmful procedures. They do not apply Leninist principles of democratic centralism. There is a tendency of pitting membership against leadership and attacking all authority indiscriminately. They carry out decisions they like, and don't carry out decisions they don't like. This is surprising from those who are fighting for the Party and democratic centralism.

On the Worker: There was an emergency meeting last Saturday, for the defence of the Worker. 50 appeared. They spoke of the necessity for raising funds in order to save the Worker while suspending the DW. They pledged to raise \$20,000 within three days. Manhattan was to raise \$5,000,

Queens \$3,000, Industrial, \$5,000, and others. These comrades of whom I've been speaking did not contribute, but took the position that they would not contribute to the suspending of the paper. They were the only comrades who voted against. Is this Leninism or Anarchy?

In this period of big struggle and confusion, the main method indicated by the Party was a thrashing out of issues on the basis of ideological methods. Can you develop an ideological discussion if the tone of the discussion is one of hostility? Some of the comrades have given the impression, whether they intended it or not, that they intend to drive out all who disagree with them. Is this correct? In regard to the leadership, I will indicate what stand we must take---but not this one. Shall we not join forces with all who want the Party as a vanguard Party of struggle, even while we fight out our differences? Have these comrades been guilty of mechanical thinking? You can't cure sectarianism with revision and you cannot cure revisionism with sectarianism.

We must bring the utmost pressure to bear on the NC to establish a NEC which will carry through a correct line of struggle.

In the NAC, Dennis, Davis, and Jackson voted for the removal of Gates; Stein, Fine and Gates voted against. They called the NEC on the phone, and got them to reverse the decision. Elizabeth Flynn and Stachel, last week, told the Party that Gates was leaving. Stein phoned the NEC on the basis of this. Polling the committee is a departure from democratic centralism, which is a bad practice. Due to the fact that we cannot have a regular political commission which meets weekly. We must ask the NC to establish leadership which will carry through the struggle against revisionism. At the same time, that we continue to struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism. All members of all clubs must demand all leadership to build the Party and play a vanguard role, as called for by the Convention decision. Also, the membership must be better informed in regard to developments. Some steps have been taken, but there is not a system of information and involvement of the Party members. In the State Committee, a majority is

for the line as indicated, but the staff is divided and very often deadlocked at 3-3: Charney, [redacted] and Bill Lawrence vs. Davis, Albertson, and Weinstone. This cannot continue, and we need leadership. We must demand an end to factions, factional organization, and a more disciplined Party. And end to factional literature, and development of regular organs for dissent. Shall we now throw our energies into a pre-convention discussion? That would be unfortunate, in my opinion. We must have discussion, but we must also have a working out of a program and we must become involved in work. The situation in the U.S. cries out for action by the Party---jobs, lay-offs, peace; developments in the Soviet Union, the Negro people, and Puerto Rican people---all demand that the Party get into action---working in peoples organizations and unions and at the same time carrying through independent activities, such as propaganda, literature, forums, etc. We need the registration of all members. We must not be turned into a debating society. We must build the clubs, encourage attendance, develop education and classes, give support to the school that has been established in place of the Jefferson School, which was shamefully liquidated, give support to the yough--the Labor Youth League was liquidated with no replacement by any organization. Our organizations have been dispersed during the years of repression. We were loose and diffuse. We must re-establish the Party as a compact organization, working in a disciplined way, and heightening the activity of all Party members. The last figures I heard on the registration were a total of over 400 registered.

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The Soviet Union has outstripped capitalism in science and technology and is now engaged in outstripping it economically. Nothing succeeds like success" with the American worker. A Party can be built, despite our internal crises. The German Party, the Russian Party, the Italians, the French----were almost demolished and driven underground---but they rebuilt, and we can, if we adhere to our organization, Every turn of the road has caused some leaders to fall out of the cart. But the cart goes on.

Discussion

[redacted] This is the time for unity in the struggle against revisionism. A number of things were said directed at Lower Harlem. In the State Committee, names were mentioned---mine and [redacted]. The Party of Puerto Rico is no more, it doesn't exist. It was liquidated by Browder in 1944---on direct orders from Browder. At one time there were 900 Puerto Ricans in the Party. Last December, 1956, there were 21, thanks to Charney and his clique. We are only a handful, and in no position to drive anyone out of the Party, as Weinstone says we are doing. Only one Puerto Rican is, and continues to be with Gates. All the rest are pro-Party. [redacted] asked [redacted] to read a resolution from the Southern California Party, because his eyes were bothering him.) This is from Dorothy Healy and Company, signed by 22. (Time was up, since a limit of 5 minutes per speakers had been voted.)

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[redacted]: I am for the organizational elimination of revisionism from our Party. It is inherent in the overall approach of Comrade Weinstone's report. But a few things have to be added. We must be sure there is no continuation of the line followed by Gates. We must not lose a day-- in tying it up in terms of the forces on the Worker and the leadership of the Party. Dissent is necessary, but we must have a homogeneous leadership on a Marxist-Leninist program.

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I read the document to which Weinstone referred. In one respect Wil was too generous. I identify myself closely with its concern with revisionism---but the document is not one of struggle against revisionism. It did not analyze the nature of revisionism. Actually it attacked those who hesitate or vacillate in the struggle against revisionism. We must not make our own actions contingent on those who lack firmness. In my section it was reported that Morris Schappes decided not to leave the Party, but I am not sure this is a positive thing.

[redacted]: This is not the time for Weinstone to attack the comrades who are farther left than he is. The 12-Party

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document can be a main statement of principle on which we can all agree. I want to make two proposals: (1) that we forge our unity against revisionism on the basis of agreement and principle, not on raising money or organizational tactics. (2) that we unite to get a leadership that reflects the principles we believe in. The first thing we have to do is to demand that we have a leadership that reflects these principles. A meeting of this kind must demand the elimination of the representatives of the Gates position in our national and state leadership. We must eliminate people like Stein and Charney. I would like to place these two items as motions.

[redacted] A document which deals with revisionism, the most pressing menace to the Party today, should not be criticized on the basis of the fact that it did not also mention other dangers, or because it is not a complete analysis. We must all get together to oust revisionism. At the State Convention, the unity between Davis and Blake was completely unprincipled, and we should have voted it down and allowed them to go then. If you destroy the Party, you won't have to worry about the sectarianism. I support any motion that will implement the resolution passed at the last County Committee meeting.

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[redacted] The attendance here is a welcome sign. It is now clear to many in this room, who a year ago did not agree that there has been a plot within the Party to wreck the Party. Our County Committee will not take part in purges of people who want the Party.

Lower Harlem has boycotted our leadership and the Flynn campaign. We have to find a way to work together. Pessimism is a very real enemy today. Never did America need a vanguard Party as we need it now. [redacted] read resolutions adopted by the State Committee) (1) Adopted the main line of the Davis Report. (2) Amended as weak the statement of the NAC on Gates' resignation. It has known for some time that John Gates has sought to utilize his leading position within the Party for the dissolution of the CPUSA, taking advantage of the broad democratic safeguards of the right of dissent. (3) We should consider as loyal comrades all who rally to defend the Party against the Gates attack

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and judge them only on their efforts to build the Party.

[redacted] The most important thing is to take the 12-party statement and make use of it. We must eliminate all Gates people from leadership. I was against giving money to the paper. Why ask for \$20,000 when they knew Gates was leaving? It is the same as Browder. Every year one of them left, but their ideas remained. They are doing nothing about the people in my country (Puerto Rico). We don't have any room either, for those who are not on the right or the left. You are liable to bounce on either side, if you are in the middle.

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[redacted] It is difficult to follow the last speaker. It is always easy to ask people who specially suffer in a society to be patient. I must remind you that Stein and others got into leadership because we were split. I did not get in because we were split. I am very unhappy about Stein in leadership, but how are we going to change that. We can help Comrade Weinstone by demanding that the February meeting take place and not be postponed, and that Weinstone, Dennis, Davis, come in with a resolution on Puerto Rico, on the high coast of living, on anti-monopoly campaign, on unemployment, on the Negro question, on peace, and let us smoke out Sid Stein. Let us help to strengthen Dennis.

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[redacted] suggested that all motions be postponed until the next County meeting, and that this discussion be continued at that time. She also asked that [redacted] be given time at the next meeting to state his position more fully. After the next County Committee meeting, the County staff will begin to organize a county-wide membership meeting.

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The next County Committee meeting will take place on Thursday, January 30, at 8:30 p.m. at Central Plaza Annex--- Morningstar Lodge.

Jones

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- SEC 3
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2/10/58

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)
 FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-2349)
 RE: CP, USA
 IS - C (CIBAL)
 (OO: New York)

[redacted] on 2/7/58, furnished a nine page mimeographed report by Bill Albertson in "The Party Crisis Approved By Industrial Leadership Meeting, 1/24/58."

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ALBERTSON attacks the resignation of JOHN DATES from the Party as intended to accomplish the liquidation of the CP and its press. He attacks GEORGE CHANNY for leading the movement which criticizes DATES' resignation from the CP, but not his policies. He claims that the Party workers in industry worked diligently for Party unity during the pre-convention and convention periods, hoping that Party unity would be based on getting down to mass work, developing a program on immediate issues, rebuilding the Party, and ironing out differences in the process of mass work. The Party ability to overcome its internal crisis is based primarily on its ability to involve the Party in mass work. This crisis was intensified by the resolution placed before the November National Committee Meeting by the Northern California District Committee. The National Committee did not listen to the Washington State Committee, which resolved that the first order of business be the consideration of the Party program for 1958. ALBERTSON states that it is his firm conviction that the fate of American Socialism is inextricably bound by the fate of World Socialism and the World Socialist movement.

He calls for leadership to repudiate the non-working class ideology of DATES and get down to the task of re-establishing Party unity based on the program of the Washington State Committee and the NSC Committee.

100-95583

INDEXED
 FILED
 FEB 10 1958
 FBI - NEW YORK

CC: 3 - Bureau (100-3)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-4931)(RM)
 1 - New York (100-26603) CP, NY Div. (RM)
 1 - [redacted]
 1 - Albany (100-2349)

1 - New York (100-12342) (RM)
 1 - New York (10-2) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-128921) (Fractional) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-Party) (RM)

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REN:YAS
 (11)

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Jlone

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M . . . U N I T E D S T A T E S G O V E R N M E N T

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-4)

DATE:

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-2349)

FEB 17 1958

RE: CP, USA, NEW YORK DIVISION
IS-C
OO: NEW YORK

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on January 13 and 31, furnished Special Agent ROBERT E. MARGISON a report concerning a two session meeting of the New York State Communist Party State Committee held at Adelphi Hall in New York City on January 11 and 12, 1958.

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This report is filed in [redacted]

CC's on pages 1a and 1b

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100-95583-459

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FEB 17 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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CC: 2-Bureau (100-3-4) (RM)

67-New York (100-12481- [redacted] (RM)
(100-127918- [redacted])
(100-129629 (19-2) WILLIAM ALBERTSON)
(100-128532- [redacted])
(100-24638- ABNER BERRY)
(100-9984 (19)-ALBERT BLUMBERG)
(100-50094- [redacted])
(100-93651- [redacted])
(100-60640- [redacted])
(100-559 (12-19)-JESUS COLON)
(100-56 (7-2)-MICHAEL DAVIDOW)
(100-23825 (19)-BEN DAVIS, JR.)
(100-49149- [redacted])
(100-13473 (19-1)-SI GERSON)
(100-276- [redacted])
(100-95789- [redacted])
(100-467- WILLIAM LAWRENCE) (19-2)
(100-99369 (19)- [redacted])
(100-85936 (19)- [redacted])
(100-10113- LEONARD LEVINSON)
(100- [redacted])
(100-52959 (20-11)- [redacted])
(100-79025 (12-16)- [redacted])
(100-13206 (7-1)- [redacted])
(100-81794- HALOIS MOOREHEAD)
(100-67670- [redacted])
(100-105448- [redacted])
(100-9550- PAUL ROBESON) (12-16)
(100-13336- [redacted])
(100-13527 (12-13)- [redacted])
(100-20 (12-14)-MORRIS SCHAPPES)
(100-50090 (19-1)-SIDNEY STEIN)
(100-86971- [redacted])
(100-79937 (12-11)- [redacted])
(100-92572- [redacted])
(100-18673- [redacted])
(100-54555- [redacted])
(100-9595 (20-13)-WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
(100-13203 (7-2)-GEORGE MORRIS)
(100- [redacted])
(100-UNSUB [redacted] Attendant NYS CP Committee
meeting December 13-14, 1957)
(100-13346-UNSUB White woman attendant NYS CP Committee
meeting December 13-14, 1957)
(100-UNSUB, [redacted] Negro Woman attendant, NYS CP
Committee meeting December 13, 14, 1957)
(100-UNSUB, White woman attendant NYS CP Committee
meeting January 11-12, 1958)
(100-UNSUB [redacted] attendant NYS CP Committee meeting
January 11-12, 1958.)

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100-UNSUB, [redacted] attendant NYS CP Committee meeting 1/11-12, 1958

100-UNSUB [redacted] attendant NYS CP Committee meeting 1/11-12, 1958

100-UNSUB, white man, attendant NYS CP Committee meeting
January 11-12, 1958

100-UNSUB, [redacted] from Queens, attendant NYS CP Committee meeting 1/11-12/

100-UNSUB, white male, attendant NYS CP Committee meeting 1/11-12/
58

100-UNSUB, white male, attendant NYS CP Committee meeting 1/11-12/
58.

100-UNSUB, white male attendant, NYS CP Committee meeting 1/11-12/
58

100-17923-JOHN GATES (19)

100-LILLIAN GATES

100-62509-DOXEY WILKERSON (12-11)

100-128314-FUNDS, STATE OF NEW YORK

100-74560-FUNDS, CP USA

100-50806 (12-8)-GEORGE CHARNEY

100-128814-CP, STATE OF NEW YORK

100- ORGANIZATION

100-FACTIONALISM

~~100-PARTY LINE~~

100-89640-NEGRO QUESTION

100-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

100-80638-MEMBERSHIP

97-169-FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, INC.

2-Buffalo (100-CP, USA, NEW YORK DIVISION))RM)

1-Buffalo (100-10454-MORTIMER SCHEER)

2-Albany (100-2349)

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REM:PAC
(72)

On 1/11 and 12/58, a two-day meeting of the New York State Communist Party State Committee was held at Adelphi Hall in New York City. The Saturday session ran from approximately 11:00 A.M. through 6:00 P.M. and the Sunday session from 11:00 A.M. through 6:30 P.M.

The following people were in attendance:

[redacted]
[redacted]
BILL ALBERTSON
[redacted]
ABNER BERRY
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
JESUS COLON
MIKE DAVIDOW
MORRIS SCHAPPES
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] FROM BUFFALO

BEN DAVIS, JR.
[redacted]
SI GERSON
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] FROM UPSTATE
BILL LAWRENCE
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
SID STEIN
[redacted]
BILL WEINSTONE
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] FROM RAILROAD
HALOIS MOOREHEAD
[redacted]
[redacted]
PAUL ROBESON
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
GEORGE MORRIS
[redacted] FROM THE 12/13-14/57
MEETING

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JESSE, a male Negro, whom I have never seen before; 5'7", 135-140 lbs., late 20's, mustache, slender to medium build, dark brown skin, short black hair, buck teeth, gap between each tooth.

JESSE, never seen before, perhaps from [redacted] s section because he was sitting with them. [redacted] a white male I have never seen before, believed to be a Brooklyn delegate, 5'7", heavy set, 180-185 lbs., mid 30's, medium complexion, sandy hair, did not speak. White woman never saw before, 5'3", late 50's, mixed gray hair worn in bob, medium build, did not speak, sitting with [redacted]. White woman who accompanied [redacted] at 12/13-14/57 meeting. White male never saw before, late 40's, 5'7", medium build, mixed gray hair, cut real close, sallow complexion, did not speak, sat with MIKE, [redacted] and [redacted].

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White man never saw before, late 50's, 5'5", medium build, mustache, bald with fringe of dark hair, bushy eyebrows. White male never saw before, 5'9", medium to heavy build, 175 lbs., late 20's, brown hair receding at the temples, spoke on Saturday and was introduced by name, which was not understandable, commented on what must be done for the Party to get it active, pleaded for unity and work in mass organizations, a middle of the roader.

[redacted] From Queens, a Jew, 5'10-11", slender build, 165-170 lbs., light sandy hair, middle 30's, light complexion, horn rimmed glasses.

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A short white man, early 60's, horn rimmed glasses, mustache, wearing beret, have seen at State Committee meetings before and also at National and State Conventions.

[redacted] appears to be the official stenographer at the State Committee meetings now and always sits up front taking notes.

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At the Saturday session [redacted] was elected to preside.

BEN DAVIS, Jr. started off with one of the two main reports on the National Executive Committee's action. He discussed JOHN GATES' resignation from the Party and GATES' statement to the press. He called GATES anti-Soviet and anti-Communist and says that he proposes changes in the Party which BEN says will never take place. Membership must intervene in leadership since the Party leadership has shown that it cannot solve the problems facing the Party itself. BEN is proud to be a Negro and a Communist and will work with anyone to help build the strong Marxist-Leninist Communist Party necessary to bring about peace, full citizenship for the Negroes and socialism. The California Resolution, GATES' action, and SID STEIN's report, all of which call for an elimination of the left forces or a showdown in the Party, are wrong and harmful. GATESISM is still in the Party and must be fought. GATES' Political Association was liquidationist and was rejected at the National Convention. There were new attempts to change the CP and to water down some of the Convention Resolutions. The Party must be a vanguard Party, fight for socialism and raise social consciousness in the working class. There must be friendly criticism of Proletarian Internationalism. The Party must make its own decisions but must not close its ears to others who may help. CLARK and GATES are anti-Marxist. The Party cannot be based on both Marxist and anti-Marxist views. STAROBIN, FAST, CLARK, and GATES all left the Party claiming it was an obstacle in the fight for socialism. STEIN's report and the NEC statement both reflect GATES' thinking.

DAVIS is proud of the State Committee in endorsing the Twelve Party Declaration which the NEC rejected. He feels the Declaration was sound. He lauded the State Committee on its resolution on the main danger and feels that Party leadership was too easy with GATES. The Dennis report is helpful and will be circulated in the Party. The STEIN report is harmful by showing a lack of confidence in the Party. The Party must renew the fight against revisionism and dogmatism. He thinks revisionism is acute and the major danger and calls GATES the biggest revisionist of all.

The position of [redacted] and [redacted] is wrong and harmful because they are ultra-left. All factions in the Party must end. CHARNEY, [redacted] and LAWRENCE aid left tendencies by not taking a

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firm position on the Party. The lack of fight in the Party and the failure of the press displays a lack of confidence in the Party. The action of the NEC must be supported in suspending the "Daily Worker." All members of the DW are not in the GATES camp - MORRIS, NORTH, GARDNER and others are good Communists. Many of GATES' remarks in the DW are described as lies.

The NAC will make public its statement on the paper. A group in New York pledged \$20,000 to save the "Worker" and, at a meeting held last Saturday, have almost fulfilled the pledge. A very serious situation exists on the staff of the NYSCP in the split between the CHARNEY, [REDACTED], LAWRENCE group against the ALBERTSON, DAVIS, WEINSTONE group. A reorganization in Party leadership is necessary and the leaders must go out in the field and work among the membership.

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The second main report was presented by SID STEIN who argued along the same lines presented by the National Convention. He is against liquidation, a political association, and wants a Marxist-Leninist CP. He thinks DAVIS has the wrong line and feels the DAVIS line will ruin the CP. He stands by the report presented to the National Convention and charges that some are trying to break the Convention decisions. He feels GATES and DAVIS each have but a small minority in the National Committee. He sees the situation most favorable now for building the Party and ending its isolation. The USSR has proven to the world that socialism is superior to capitalism. Party forces are split today and one problem is finding their way in mass organizations and becoming a part of the mass movement. He read excerpts from a document by WEINSTONE and claimed that it must be rejected by the Party and withdrawn by WEINSTONE since it is anti-Leninist. The National Convention decisions are being destroyed by DAVIS, FOSTER and DENNIS. He believes in the Convention resolutions. He criticizes the branding of people for even thinking and are not permitted to question. Every Party member must have a right to ask questions. The true Party Program will never come out in the present situation. The NEC was asked to endorse the document by DENNIS without having time to read it. A small group of leaders are taking all the authority and making all the decisions, contrary to majority feeling and are trying to run the Party. These people are ruining the Party. The loss of membership is due to lack of confidence in leadership. He feels that the National Committee must remove all roadblocks to a Party Program. Further that the Party must be based on an examination of the American scene and the heart of the movement must be an American road to socialism based on a coalition of the laborer on the Negro and the farmer. The Party must allow free decision and recognize labor as the main vehicle to attain socialism. He calls for a dissolving of the NEC and the NAC and the election of a new NAC because the present leadership is unable to lead the Party. He wants the National headquarters moved to Chicago, away from New York City and its factions.

After these two main reports, speakers were recognized from the floor.

SCHAPPES stated that he had no intention of resigning from the CP, that he is in favor of the National Convention decisions, that the Party remove GATES out, that the DW was killed by a few, and he agrees with the STEIN report.

[] then read a letter from CHARNEY, in which CHARNEY apologized for his absence due to illness. CHARNEY says that STEIN will present a good report. CHARNEY does not agree with GATES' resignation and with some of GATES' views and he feels that the Party can be built with hard work. He has not too much faith in the Party as it is now. He will not go along with any condemnation of GATES. The Party must find a means of working together and building itself.

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[] thinks that calling his faction the ultra left is phoney and his faction is supporting the Convention decisions and fighting for the life of the Party. He claims that right opportunism as illustrated by BROWDER, LOVESTONE and GATES is the main danger and not left sectarianism. He will not go along with the hoax being pulled by the Party. The Party is corrupt and he called for an intervention by the membership to purge the Party of its corrupt leaders.

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[] agrees with the DAVIS Report. There is weakness in the Party leadership and it is the leadership that is isolated and not the membership. There will always be a Communist Party and he wants a working class leadership with Negro and Puerto Rican representation.

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[] stated that both reports are important and welcome and should be sent to the membership. He discussed the movement on to ban nuclear tests and the great peace movement. He supports the NEC view against the State Committee's view on the Twelve Party Declaration. He charges DAVIS with issuing a challenge to either agree with DAVIS or get out of the Party. He thinks DAVIS' views are contrary to the Convention Decision.

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WEINSTONE agrees with DAVIS. He thinks the Party is tailing the masses and accuses the ultra left of anarchism and left sectarianism. We must fight GATES and his views if the Party is to go ahead.

GERSON feels that GATES has harmed the Party. He charges FOSTER and DAVIS with trying to purge the CP and change the Convention resolutions against a Political Association. He claims DAVIS wants him, BERRY, and SCHAPPES out of the Party.

GEORGE MORRIS agrees with the DAVIS report and claims STEIN aims to dissolve the Party. He feels GATES should be condemned and not upheld.

[redacted] agrees with the main line of the DAVIS report but supports [redacted] remarks about the ultra left.

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BILL LAWRENCE supports the NEC statement on GATES but with reservations. He will not be driven out of the CP and charges FOSTER, DAVIS and [redacted] with trying to dissolve the decisions of the Convention. He views the DW as a victim of sectarianism and says DAVIS wants to eliminate CHARNEY, [redacted], and LAWRENCE.

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[redacted] supports DAVIS. She attacks GATES and does not think that GATES was driven out. The NAC knew GATES was going to resign.

DAVE is against the STEIN report and says that STEIN proposes debating the Party to death. We must get down to action and stop the debating. If the membership continues discussing, it will ruin the Party.

[redacted] is proud of being an American Negro Communist. She agrees with the DAVIS report and rejects GATES as dishonest. She rejects STEIN's report completely and describes it as GATES' position of a year ago.

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ROBESON sides with DAVIS and opposes the STEIN report.

The Sunday morning session began with BILL ALBERTSON in the chair. [redacted] started off the speeches from the floor by stating he is for the Convention decisions and the draft program must be followed and we must get into labor organization. He is against GATES' action in quitting the Party. He started discussing membership and listed some registration figures for the Party for 1958. He stated that [redacted]'s estimate of members registered in Brooklyn of 145 was too low and that probably there was between 250 and 300 already registered in Brooklyn for 1958 out of an estimated 700 membership. The estimate of Manhattan's registrations for 1958 is approximately 400. There are no estimated figures for the Bronx. The estimated Queens 1958 registration is 100, for the Industrial Division it is 300 and for Distributive it is 50.

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[redacted] agrees with the DAVIS report. He does not think that DAVIS should have made his former unity deal with CHARNEY because it harmed instead of helping the Party.

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[redacted] is for the STEIN report. He states the DAVIS report is contradictory in that it pleads for unity and then asks purges.

[] is for the DAVIS report and states that the ultra left is not truly working for the CP because it will not attend CP meetings and boycotted the paper and the FLYNN campaign. [] then grabbed the floor and charged the county leaders with chauvinism and said that that was why his group was not attending meetings.

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[] is against the STEIN report. He discussed the Party and its role. He feels the DAVIS report was very good.

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[] states that GATES is trying to liquidate the Party by his actions. We must defeat GATES' objectives. [] is on the side of anyone who is fighting for the whole life of the Party.

[] from Buffalo states that the Buffalo membership and its leadership are united in their thinking. The CP has a future and we must fight for the problems of the Party. Buffalo passed a resolution calling for the removal of GATES from the paper and the National Committee. The main danger comes from the right and the main danger in mass work is left sectarianism.

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[] says that his county passed a resolution for GATES' removal. He condemned GATES' action and claims GATES is still trying to wreck the Party from the outside and with help from the inside.

[] is for the DAVIS report. He read a resolution from his section committee condemning the action of the 14 members of the State Committee that had called this special meeting. He called this a factional action and said that his section demands that the State Committee condemn these 14 members. SCHAPPES stated that this was not a factional action and the Constitution allows an appeal to a decision. [] wanted his motion withdrawn and [] refused. DAVIS opposed the motion and asked that these people not be condemned and []'s resolution was defeated.

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[] demanded action by the Party in mass work and dislikes the whole idea of Party discussion.

[] agrees with the DAVIS resolution and wants action out of the Party. She cited an illustration of 4 Negroes in Brooklyn who have been sentenced to death, and the Party is not supporting them. [] from Railroad recalled the STEIN report as his great contribution. He thinks Party policy is at fault and this explains why Party could not hold its membership. [] supports the DAVIS resolutions and blasted GATES and FAST and their thinking.

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[] supports the DAVIS report and calls the STEIN report a factional report.

[redacted] from Queens is against the DAVIS report and thinks DAVIS is calling for a showdown with or a purge of the Right. He feels that GATES' action was a blow to the Party and a great loss. He agrees with the Convention decisions.

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[redacted] urges that a further stand be taken on GATES and thinks that GATES' action is contemptible. He is for building the Party.

[redacted] states that he is a GATES supporter but he condemns GATES for leaving the Party. He wants the wrangling stopped.

[redacted] spoke in favor of GATES
[redacted] urges more education by the membership.

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ALBERTSON opposes GATES and what he stands for but he tried not to support the DAVIS viewpoint. He discussed the Party and its needs in general.

This started a wrangle about Party funds with different people hurling accusations at each other. STEIN said the paper could have been saved and accused certain sections, including [redacted]'s section, of withholding funds from the Party. [redacted] called him a liar and said that his section had raised \$7,000 for the paper already of a pledge of \$20,000 and said that his section would raise the balance. He said that this was not the place to name names but he demanded an investigation where he could name names. STEIN claimed that GERSON was present on the occasion when [redacted] said that the Brooklyn Section would not turn its money in to the Party. GERSON stated, from the platform, that this was true. [redacted] took the floor and called GERSON a liar and each challenged the other to an investigation. STEIN said that the National Committee had money for the paper but was holding it out. ALBERTSON stepped in and stopped the discussion and stated that an investigation would be held by the proper authorities at which facts could be presented.

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BILL WEINSTONE distributed an 8-page mimeographed leaflet captioned "Material for the Conference on Negro work, Economic Status of the Negro Worker 1950," prepared by the educational department of the CP of NYS. This material quoted Bulletin "1119 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Dept. of Labor on "Negroes in the United States." This material supposedly reveals "the continued civil exploitation and degradation confronting the Negro worker in the United States." This material was presumably gotten together by the group that has already met to plan a conference on Negro work, originally scheduled for 1/18&19/58. DAVIS announced, however, after a conference with [redacted], ROBESON, and [redacted] that these comrades were not ready for the conference and it would have to be postponed. ROBESON stated, however, that the Party must get started on this conference soon and it was tentatively arranged to postpone it for only two weeks.

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At the close of the meeting on Sunday afternoon several motions were presented by BEN DAVIS.

The first motion was that the main line of DAVIS' report be approved, as opposed to the STEIN report. This was passed. Several people, including [redacted] from Upstate, the [redacted] MOOREHEAD, and [redacted] approved the report but with reservations against the criticism of the ultra left.

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DAVIS then presented a press release from the NAC concerning the resignation from the Party of GATES. The release regretted GATES' resignation but recommended that his "klicg-lighted resignation" be accepted. It noted serious consequences of the suspension of the DW, the recommendation for such suspension having been ultimately made by an overwhelming majority decision. GATES' resignation can only harm the job of building the weekly "Worker." GATES duty was to remain within the Party and not build a new platform outside of the National Convention's decisions. GATES is now an avowed opponent of the CP and its program. Despite CHARNEY'S plea for the State Committee to take no position on GATES' resignation, the Committee voted to take a position regardless. CHARNEY'S letter was poorly received. DAVIS stated that the press release was not sufficiently strong and he introduced a resolution using stronger language in the criticism of GATES. They also introduced a resolution condemning GATES' resignation. SCHAPPES maintained that the resignation was constitutional and the resolution was finally passed, as wanted by [redacted] condemning GATES' actions and his manner of resigning.

DAVIS' concluding resolution, which [redacted] rephrased more concisely, had to do with what GATES' action would do to the Party and what the Party must do to stop this pattern of GATES, STAROBIN and CLARK of resigning. He called these 3 tools of monopoly capitalism and said that it was a trend of thinking which the Party must defeat. The resolution was particularly critical of GATES, noting that he had made up his mind to resign a long time ago and that his thinking had started to change when he was in prison. He said that GATES had carefully picked his time to resign on a Friday, after the "Worker" had been published so that the Capitalist press could scoop the "Worker" on the story. He said that GATES had made a deal with the "Post" for a series of articles. There are two groups in Brooklyn -with JOHN GATES meeting with the men's and LIL GATES meeting with the women's group - in an attempt to get them to pull out of the Party. [redacted] is in on this deal and is holding meetings with these people to get a new Socialist movement started. GATES has consented to be interviewed on the Mike Wallace Program and to reveal the corruption and bureaucracy in the Party. MOOREHEAD took the floor and noted that lots of people had left the Party

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but in a decent way, like WILKERSON who has done nothing to hurt the Party. The Party, however, cannot overlook GATES' methods and must fight such methods.

This DAVIS [redacted] resolution condemning GATES was adopted with BEN, [redacted] SCHAPPES, STEIN, and [redacted] from the Railroad voting against it.

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A resolution was adopted that this session of the State Committee reaffirmed the stand of the State Committee meeting on 12/13 & 14/57 in approving the Twelve Party Declaration.

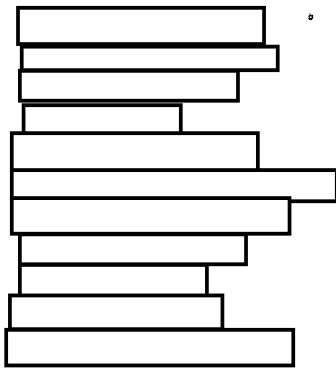
[redacted] then introduced a resolution that both the STEIN report and the DAVIS report be mimeographed and sent to all Party clubs for discussion. [redacted] from Railroad presented an amendment that all material from the State Committee be sent down for discussion. [redacted] presented an amendment to the effect that the Party is currently all tied up in debate and that this action would result in only more debate and so therefore only the decisions of the State Committee should be sent down to the memberships. This topped off a big argument with some maintaining that the membership must know everything that goes on and others claiming that the membership should not be tied up in more discussion. [redacted] from Buffalo claimed that all actions should be reported to the members. ALBERTSON said that the right wing wants both points of view presented to the membership. DAVIS presented a motion which he claimed would satisfy everybody and so this other motion and amendments were withdrawn. DAVIS proposed that all the material from the State Committee be condensed and mimeographed and furnished to the membership. [redacted] amended this by stating that the decision of the NEC should accompany this material. This motion and amendment were adopted. Regardless of this action, DAVIS will undoubtedly do what he wants to do.

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[redacted] then presented a report concerning four Negro boys in Brooklyn who have been convicted of murdering a storekeeper. He stated that the Party there should organize against this case and he requested that the State Board assist in planning this action. This was agreed to.

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[redacted] has referred to certain individuals in his report by first name only. He has identified these individuals by a display of photographs as follows:



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Distribution of this letter has been made to New York topical files. It is requested that New York include material in their next quarterly report. Albany will put no information in its quarterly inasmuch as reporting of this information tends to divulge some information which might identify the informant to intelligence agencies.

LEADS

NEW YORK

New York is requested to identify UNSUB [redacted] UNSUB [redacted] and UNSUB white woman each of whom attended the December 13-14 State Committee meeting. New York is now requested to attempt to identify and furnish photos of logical suspects to Albany for display to Albany informant of the additional UNSUBS who have been reported on by the informant at this January 11-12, 1958 meeting. New York will note that there are two UNSUBS [redacted] in addition to [redacted] whom the informant knows.

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New York will ascertain which attendants at this meeting the Albany informant is failing to identify by name. Photos of these individuals should then be furnished to Albany for display to the informant so that personal identities of these people by a live informant as attending these State Committee meetings can be made in the future.

BUFFALO DIVISION

Buffalo will furnish a photograph of MORTIMER SCHEER to Albany for display to informant.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
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No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 1
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